THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

November 30, 1946

NEW CONSTITUTION

AN EDITORIAL

Hongkong Now City Of Refuge

By John W. Powell

China's Foreign Critics

By S. E. Shifrin

Assembly Urged To Halt War

By Charles J. Canning

CHANCE OR DESIGN?

AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 103 PRICE CNC$800 Number 13

京滬線 NANKING-SHANGHAI LINE

TIME TABLE

4	72	6	8	78	2	10	12	車次 TRAIN NO.	1	5	77	7	71	3	9	11
I, II Exp.	I Wusih Excur.	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	II, III Local Exp.	I, II N'king Excur. Throu. Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	站名 STATIONS	I, II H'chow Excur Throu. Exp.	I, II III Exp.	II, III Local Exp.	I, II Exp.	I Wusih Excur.	I, II Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.
7.00	8.30	9.00	11.00	12.30	13.30	21.50	23.00	D 上海 SHANGHAI 北站 NORTH A	14.45	16.25	17.10	19.30	21.35	22.45	6.35	8.00
		10.16	12.14	13.48		23.23		D 崑山 KUNSHAN D		15.24	16.05	18.15			5.28	
8.41	10.09	10.57	12.57	14.29	15.17	0.20	1.06	A 蘇州 SOOCHOW D	13.06	14.33	15.19	17.29	19.42	21.06	4.39	5.39
8.48	10.14	11.06	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	D 蘇州 SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	15.09	17.21	19.34	20.58	4.32	5.19
9.36	11.05	11.54	13.55	15.25	16.14	1.22	2.08	A 無錫 WUSIH D	12 11	13.24	14.10	16.27	18.45	20.10	3.39	4.26
9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	D 無錫 WUSIH A	12.04	13.18		16.21		20.03	3.33	4.19
10.31		12.59	15.01		17.09	2.27	3.13	A 常州 CHANGCHOW D	11.17	12.22		15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30
10.40		13.08	15.15		17.19	2.37	3.25	D 常州 CHANGCHOW A	11.06	12.09		15.08		19.06	2.24	3.20
11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	A 丹陽 TANYANG D		11.09		14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03
11.41		14.03	16.17			4.00	4.33	D 丹陽 TANYANG A		11.05		13.55		18.03	1.02	2.00
12.18		14.40	17.01		18.46	4.46	5.18	A 鎮江 CHINKIANG D	9.32	10.28		13.07		17.23	0.09	1.07
12.25		14.45	17.17		18.53	4.55	5.27	D 西站 WEST A	9.24	10.21		12.59		17.15	23.56	1.00
13.55		16.10	18.50		20.20	6.30	7.15	A 南京 NANKING D	8.00	9.00		11.00		15.45	22.00	23.00

FARE LIST

(Note:—Fares for Trains Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 71, & 72 not included.)

STATIONS 站名		Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express	
SHANGHAI	上海							
KUNSHAN	崑山	52	2,800.	3,800.	1,400.	1,900.	700.	1,000.
SOOCHOW	蘇州	87	4,400.	5,400.	2,200.	2,700.	1,100.	1,400.
WUSIH	無錫	129	6,400.	7,700.	3,200.	3,900.	1,600.	2,000.
CHANGCHOW	常州	168	8,400.	10,100.	4,200.	5,100.	2,100.	2,600.
TANYANG	丹陽	213	10,400.	12,500.	5,200.	6,300.	2,600.	3,200.
CHINKIANG WEST	鎮江西站	243	11,600.	14,000.	5,800.	7,000.	2,900.	3,500.
NANKING	南京	312	14,800.	17,800.	7,400.	8,900.	3,700.	4,500.

滬杭線 SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE

TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	車次 TRAIN NO.	92	42	2	68	26	22	62	94
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Throu.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	站名 STATIONS	I, II III Local Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Excur.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Local Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	D 上海北站 SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	D 上海西站 SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	A 松江 SUNGKIANG D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.43	17.08	17.51	D 松江 SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.22	17.39		20.54	
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	A 嘉興 KASHING D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	D 嘉興 KASHING A		8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	D 峽石 YEHZAH D		8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	A 長安鎮 CHANGAN-TSENG D		7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	D 長安鎮 CHANGAN-TSENG A		7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	A 杭州 HANGCHOW D		6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

(Note:—Fares for Trains Nos. 1, 2, 21, & 22 not included.)

STATIONS 站名		Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express	
SHANGHAI	上海							
SUNGKIANG	松江	45	2,400.	3,400.	1,200.	1,700.	600.	900.
KASHING	嘉興	99	4,800.	5,800.	2,400.	2,900.	1,200.	1,500.
YEHZAH	峽石	126	6,400.	7,700.	3,200.	3,900.	1,600.	2,000.
CHANGANTSENG	長安鎮	151	7,600.	9,200.	3,800.	4,600.	1,900.	2,300.
HANGCHOW	杭州	190	9,200.	11,100.	4,600.	5,600.	2,300.	2,800.

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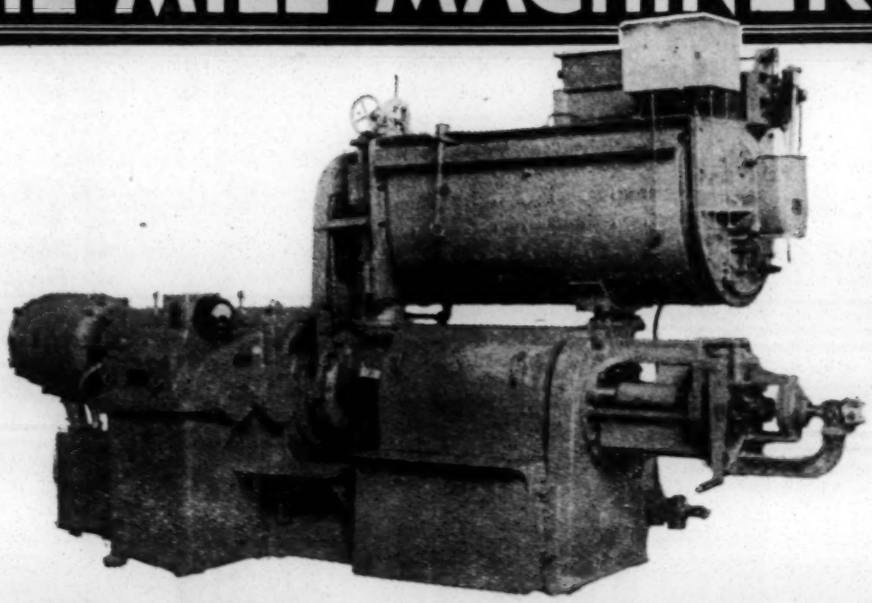

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Cotton Racket

To The Editor:

With the announcement of the official control of cotton goods prices, we small eligible consumers of yarn in South China were elated. Cotton yarn prices would be stabilized and we would benefit. Now to our surprise and delirium we are stuck in the mud.

The official price, hiked to CNC$1,750,000 per bale of 20's yarn, if it could be carried out effectively would enable eligible consumers to purchase supplies at reasonable prices. On the contrary, we are at a loss as to where to buy our supplies even with ready cash on hand. After having run about for a considerable period trying to get our yarn we are greatly disappointed and about to give up.

The black market price for 20's yarn at present varies from CNC$2,300,000 to $2,500,000 per bale as compared to the controlled price of $1,750,000. The difference is from $550,000 to $750,000 per bale. As we are unable to buy at the cheaper price we are willing to buy our supply on the black market. Even so we meet with difficulties. We have to find the right man who knows how to approach stock owners and mill owners as middleman. Most consumers must follow this procedure:

If the black market price per bale of yarn is CN$2,300,000 and the controlled price $1,825,000, including brokerage, the purchaser gives two checks, one for the official price and one for the balance. The invoice indicates receipt of the former amount only. In this way official surveillance is avoided.

Shipments to South China of yarn bought on the black market encounter insurmountable difficulties. The shippers must get permits from the Textile Control Commission before shipments can be effected. In this troublesome procedure the commission undertakes investigations as to where the yarn is bought, how it is bought and at what price.

Under present circumstances it is extremely difficult to ship yarn to the South China textile manufacturers who are waiting anxiously. Should the present confused condition continue for a long period we are afraid all eligible consumers of yarn will shortly suspend operations.

We do believe the authorities are trying their best to stabilize the market but so far they have failed as completely as on the U.S. dollar and flour, both of which are now about 30 percent higher in the black market than officially.

A YARN DEALER.

Shanghai,
November 24, 1946.

Likin Again?

To The Editor:

The following item from the *Peiping Chronicle* of Nov. 21 may be of interest to you:

"More than 200 trucks have stopped running on the highway between Peiping and Tientsin since Nov. 16 as the result of enforcement of a new tax of $50 a ton per kilometer maintenance fee to be collected by the Eighth District Highway Administration of the Ministry of Communications here.

"For a return trip to Tientsin each truck of four tons will have to pay $48,000, which the truck owners deem too heavy for them to support.

"The Automotive Association here yesterday sent a petition to the Ministry of Communications, requesting it to instruct the Highway Administration to stop or to cut down the new tax. Otherwise it would heavily affect the import of about 400 tons of foodstuffs to Peiping daily.

"The Association will submit a petition to President Chiang Kai-shek, the National Government, the Executive yuan and the National Assembly to this effect."

What are we heading for? The Likin again?

JIH-TSUI.

Peiping,
November 22, 1946.

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Index for November 30, 1946

Editorial Paragraphs

China's New Constitution 383
Birthday Levies 384
Shanghai's Wharf Pilferage 384
Macao And Extrality 385
Safety Of Railroads 385
President Wilson Launched 386
Chance Or Design? 387

Special Articles

Hongkong Political And Economic Refuge.....*By John W. Powell* 388
National Assembly Urged To Halt Civil War....*By Charles J. Canning* 389
Hirohito's Tour Shrewd Political Move .....*By James R. Young* 390
Exciting Two Years Ahead As GOP Triumphs ....*By James L. Stewart* 391
Ho Lung's Army Intact, Confident Of Victory....*By Sidney Rittenberg* 391
China's Foreign Critics .....*By S. E. Shifrin* 392
Gold Bars Soar, Stocks Slump; Trade Decline Ahead 402

Departments

Letters From The People 377
25 Years Ago 387
News Of The Week 394
What U.S. Papers Say 398
What Chinese Papers Say 399
Events In Brief 400
Who's Who In China 401
People In The News 401
Old China Hands 403
Business Foot-Notes 404
Day To Day In China's Civil War 405
New Books Of Interest 406

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One-Man Democracy

To The Editor:

China's National Assembly opened last week. It is a sign that Mr. Chiang Kai-shek has made up his mind to be a dictator.

Today's National Assembly, in other words, is Mr. Chiang's relations' assembly. Representatives are appointed by Mr. Chiang, and they are yes-men; their ideas are Mr. Chiang's. I lived in Chekiang for over 20 years and I can say that citizens in Chekiang had never voted a representative. This so-called National Assembly, people think, is very like Yuan Shih-kai's (袁世凱) Tsu An-wei (籌安會), which revived the despotism of the Tsing dynasty.

Don Quixote said that no churl keeps the word he gives if he finds that it does not suit him to keep it. Mr. Chiang Kai-shek made promises in the Political-Consultative Council which founded the base of democracy, but he ate his words; he overthrew everything that the PCC decided.

Mr. Chiang is treating the Chinese people in every way as Hitler did. Things are contrary to his speeches, his writings; Gestapo, party-eduction, party-army, and an anti-freedom policy are over China. Now, he opens the National Assembly by his own will, and will announce the so-called Constitution, and continue his one-man democracy.

CALMANN O'BLUE.

Nanking,
November 20, 1946.

Piece Of Paper?

To The Editor:

Since the National Government decided on the convocation of the National Assembly on November 15, many thoughtful men have been afraid it might meet amidst the roar of guns.

The Communists now are determined not to participate in the assembly, and General Chou En-lai has gone back to Yenan. The Democratic League also may leave. The nationwide split is in sight, and it is the most serious situation to face China in more than a year. And what of the "constitution" now? If there is one, I feel it would be nothing but a piece of paper with words on it because it is not produced according to the will of the people. The will of the people today is, firstly, to halt the civil war.

Now the National Government has begun to persuade some third party men to participate in the assembly. I don't know whether or not they would be tempted by the bribes offered, so I will not dwell upon that here. However, I doubt if this way the "constitution" can be any good.

It is funny that the National Assembly should meet on the one hand and the guns roar on the other hand.

P. C. SUN.

Nanking,
November 22, 1946.

Illogical?

To The Editor:

I have perused all the letters appearing in the Letters from the People column since the resumption of publication of your valuable *Review*. However, I am at a loss as to the motives of some of the letters concerning the KMT and CP, and suspect that some of the correspondents are paid underlings and party propagandists, as most of the letters attack the KMT but more or less incline to the CP. I wish to know whether these letters really express the sentiments of the Chinese people. Or are they merely paid

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propaganda? Please note, however, I am no paid KMT underling.

According to my careful survey of the so-called public opinion as expressed in these letters, the KMT should fall into abeyance and CP should be the ruling party, following the theory of survival of the fittest. On the contrary, this is apparently not the case.

Deeds are "fruits," words are "leaves," as the proverb goes. All religious and political doctrines are fundamentally sound and are for the betterment of the human race. Why does it take so long to instil a new doctrine or principle into one's head? Christianity existed years before its gospel was heard all over the world. If Communist principles (Chinese adaptations) are just as good as those of Christianity, the people will then follow the Communist leaders as sheep the shepherds.

That one cannot fool all the people all of the time always holds true. "He who with a sympathetic heart exercises a commiserating government may govern the whole country as if turning it round in the hand," says a Chinese proverb. Are the Communists as good as that? Hundreds of heart-breaking tales have been related by refugees from Communist-controlled areas, where innumerable innocent people were savagely murdered because they happened to have given a tea party to Nationalist officers when the territories were under the latter's control. Innumerable innocent peasants were bayoneted on the battlefields whenever fighting took place. Such barbarous beasts should perish from the earth.

The suffering innocent peasants dare not relate these tragic stories openly lest they also be murdered in cold blood. Even in Shanghai many of my close friends advise me not to say a word against such reported tragedies perpetrated by the Communists.

Practically speaking, the CP is in a disadvantageous position in the military, equipment, financial and in all other aspects. Why do they fight to the last man? Do they fight for the glory of their famed predecessors? As previously pointed out, if their principles are indeed sound, I too shall believe in them voluntarily, the way I did as regards Christian principles.

In a nutshell, it is the soil that produces the fruit. The Chinese soil will always produce Chinese fruits. The old concepts of Chinese philosophy, social science and even the unwholesome environment are the background that engenders the civil war. We must have a new education in molding a new concept of the state. We must have better technical education to help develop our resources so that our economic opportunity is widened. This will turn some talented people from politics as a lucrative occupation. China's civil war is an economic war. When jobs outside the government functions are easier to get, China's civil war will ultimately be brought to an end. It seems very likely that the war will drag on until one side realizes that battlefield tactics are producing no decisive results.

The KMT has made innumerable blunders—many inexcusable ones—yet it is not too late for it to show the people what it can do. Civil war, if compared with a family quarrel, is of the same nature but of different degrees. Generally speaking, the younger member of the family should give way to the elder member.

Dear Editor, I am afraid I have taken up too much of your space, but I do hope that in the future I shall not have to read any more letters that incline to any one party without giving logical reasoning or reasonable conclusions.

P. K. KEE.

Shanghai,
November 18, 1946.

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Reds And Poppy

To The Editor:

The chief source of revenue of the Communists is opium. Whenever they are faced with financial difficulties they turn to the opium trade for an answer, having become good disciples of the Japs in this respect.

The Reds encourage cultivation of poppy in seven different provinces, including Kiangsu and Hopei. In North Kiangsu alone they started with 200 hectares of poppy in 1942, but the total acreage grew to 600 this year. They still collect an opium tax, and provide armed escorts in the transportation of the drug from one area to another. Sixty percent of the proceeds is turned over to the Border Government, the growers retaining the remainder.

Yenan carried out a Rural Credit system in 1943 to increase production and popular meetings were held from time to time to popularize poppy cultivation.

The Central Government, however, is well aware of this degenerating Communist policy, but its advice has always been ignored, an act typical of the wide differences between the Reds and the government.

H. S. LIU.

Nanking,
November 18, 1946.

Human Drones

To The Editor:

With your permission, I should like to call the attention of your readers to the report published in your issue of November 9, 1946 regarding the so-called Canton Beggar Dumps.

There are many advantages in living in Canton, which are so obvious that I need not enumerate them; but all residents will admit that there are also many drawbacks, the chief of which is the problem of the suffering masses. But some of the disadvantages are man-made, and so are within our power of control.

It is high time that some drastic action is taken to put a stop to, or at any rate to regulate, begging in the public streets. The number of these idle drones is increasing to an alarming extent and is already a public nuisance.

I know that alms-giving is sanctioned by religion; and that begging is such a long-established custom all over the world that it is not easy to stir public opinion against it. Anyone who dares to speak against it is in danger of being accused of meanness and selfishness, and even disrespect of religion. "Surely," people cry, "it is the duty of the well-to-do to pity and help the poor?" Where are the UNRRA and CNRRA in this part of the country?

But the problem is too serious to be settled by mere sentiment. We must consider it in the light of reason and common sense. The question is, firstly, are all the beggars in the streets really poor and deserving of help? And, secondly, is promiscuous alms-giving the best way of helping the poor?

A large number of these beggars are able-bodied men and women who could work if they were given any chance. But some of them find it much easier to live idle lives, depending on the charity of those who have to work hard for a living. They are drones feeding on the wealth produced by the worker bees.

With regard to the really deserving poor, poverty is not helped by casual alms-giving. Nothing but a systematic organization of relief can do any lasting good in such cases.

Let us by all means help the deserving poor, but put down "the sturdy beggar" with a strong hand.

TALEON C. TONG.

Canton,
November 19, 1946.

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Ghost Town

To The Editor:

Among the relics of China's past, Hankow ranks high in historical interest. The "Chicago of China" is little more than a ghost town. Her waterfront scene presents a travesty on the teeming activity of happier days. Hankow is a processing and manufacturing center with no plant, a distribution center with no transportation. Hankow is a city with a past—no present, no future.

Roads through Hankow's hinterland are being repaired, mostly by the National Highway Commission. The Han River and Tung Ting lakes are plied by sampan and other small native craft. This is a rich district and most of its produce goes to Hankow—to lie in her warehouses.

There is no use restoring Hankow's bombed and gutted industrial installations as long as transportation from Hankow is so meager that products lie rotting in what warehouses remain. Aside from sampans, shipping above Hankow is a virtual monopoly of the Ming Sung Shipping Company; below Hankow is the territory of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Co. There simply are not enough ships to go around. But river traffic is not open to foreign shipping. Even UNRRA ships carrying relief supplies up the Yangtze are forced to return without cargo other than refugees. British shippers are completely inactivated.

The army has some good Japanese small craft. They do not use them, nor do they allow anyone else to do so. Produce rots in the warehouses. Thousands of coolies waste thousands of hours. Yet labor is so well organized that handling charges are exorbitant. More than half of the waterfront is gone. There are no cranes for handling heavy cargo.

A few enterprises show desultory signs of life. Among them is the tung oil industry. Its tribulations are manifold. The farmer does not receive enough for his product to make it worth his while to grow tung trees. Those who already have the trees and must market the oil find it expedient to add a small percentage of water—not enough so that the dealer can detect it. Hankow was a refining center, but its refineries were bombed out. During the expensive loading process more water is added to the oil when the barrels are washed out. When transportation of oil plus water has been paid to Shanghai, it must be off-loaded, refined, and perhaps re-loaded. Tung oil is unlikely to go beyond the domestic market.

Tea which used to go from Hankow in enormous quantities to North China, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Russia, and all over the world is scarcely worth shipping at the present exorbitant rates, if ships can be found. The large Russian tea firms are closing.

Hankow's egg shipping activities are at an end—no processing plant, no refrigerated ships. The conversation of Hankow businessmen is one long tale of woe. Some representatives of large firms are waiting it out behind their desks; more are tieing up the loose ends and preparing to depart. Most of the foreign companies are selling out.

What of the future? Will the halcyon days return when peace has been restored? How long can Hankow businessmen bide their time? How long will it take to restore what has been destroyed? When will restrictive legislation cease? And what of the Yangtze River Project? When large ships are plying the upper Yangtze to Chungking and beyond, what of Hankow? Most likely Hankow will be still a relic of the past, a victim of war, a by-passed frontier.

S. Y. WOO.

Hankow,
November 25, 1946.

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Honor Stilwell

To The Editor:

Have you ever received a letter from a poor, ignorant, simple, and out of the way village-bred soldier? I am just such a man. I was born in the village of the Flying Dragon Pass of Yachow, Sikang and our Pao Chia of the village sent me to join the Burma campaign with some other Chinese soldiers. I joined the New First Army there in the summer of 1942.

When I left my native region I was very sad as I was a poor farmer's boy, knowing nothing about the world, fearing the military as the tigers, leopards and wolves living in our neighboring mountains. I especially dreaded the foreigners and foreign military. But after I entered the camp I found my fears unfounded.

We were properly fed, equipped, trained and led. The officers were very kind. Every day after our military training they lectured us on other subjects and taught us how to study. At that time our enemy, the Japs, was stronger than we, and we retired to India passing through many pains and dangers and returned to Burma. Although we tasted many hardships, we were not sad, and even felt that we were happy. Why? Because our commander was General Joseph Stilwell.

He spoke to us many times. He was not only kind and gentle, but also humorous. Therefore his words made a deep impression on our minds. Some of his words were to the following effect: "You need not regard me as a commander or a high officer. We are just brothers. If we live, we live together. If we die, we die together. We must fight very bravely. But if the time comes when we must run for our lives we must run. And when the time comes to run, if you can take your weapon, take it. If not, just leave it behind. I believe we must win the war. Japan had no right to invade China; Japan had no right to join Germany, in disturbing the peace of the world." You see how wonderful he was. Certainly he should live, as should China and her people, forever.

China is released now and we are still living, but where is our excellent Commander? How sad we are to hear that he is dead, and that he died from the rigors of the Burma Campaign. How great a bereavement have we! How can we show our gratitude to him?

In the Manchu Dynasty Hung Siu-chuan led the Taiping Rebellion, and he became emperor in Nanking, having conquered about half of China. The Manchu emperor was unable to save himself and he asked England for assistance. England sent General Gordon to the dynasty's aid and Hung Siu-chuan was defeated. The Manchus erected a bronze statue in Shanghai in General Gordon's honor. General Gordon's merit was not so great as General Stilwell's, who upheld China in the most difficult times of her resistance to the enemy. And it was he who actually built the strongest part of the modern Chinese army. The highway which bears his name shows the world the efforts Stilwell expended. Why should we not establish a bronze statue for him in China?

If we do this I believe there will be at least two advantages to China. One is that besides China there are 53 nations in the United Nations now. If they know that the Chinese are such grateful people, all will want to come to help China.

The other advantage is that if we are grateful our consciences will be satisfied. In this way we can attract the protection of Heaven. It is as our book of Tso Chuan (左傳) says: "With Heaven there is no prejudice; only the virtuous are helped." (皇天無親，惟德是輔)

CHANG BIAO.

Yachow, Sikang,
November 8, 1946.

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China's New Constitution

BY all indications the draft constitution as presented to the National Assembly will be adopted almost in toto. That means that from a mere theory of government the constitution will become the organic law of the state. Some people may be naive enough to believe that constitutionalism has therefore come to China and that the period of political tutelage is over.

The mere existence of a constitution cannot bring into existence constitutional government. For the basic truth in government is that constitutionalism depends not so much on the constitution itself as upon the manner in which it is implemented. In this connection one should not lose sight of the fact that Britain, one of the world's leading constitutional states, has no written constitution at all. The British constitution is therefore more a matter of common tradition and common practice, rather than any single written document. On the other hand, many South American states, which can each boast of perhaps half a dozen constitutions in their history, show nothing that does not correspond to one man-rule.

That is why the real struggle in China is not the adoption of the draft constitution. This constitution, as a constitution, is an admirable document. Even where limitations in the freedom of the masses exist, these can be eliminated by future revision and amendment. Criticism of the constitution, as the instrument of government, is therefore not justified on the basis of a critique of an inanimate object.

But criticism, and plenty of it, will and must come if the government does not see to it that specific clauses are not enforced, are not transformed into concrete realities. That is the danger today.

The constitution has been drafted, and will be adopted, for the sole purpose of bringing to an end the period of political tutelage. It is only when we understand clearly the difference between the period of political tutelage and the period of constitutional government that we can understand the true role that the constitution must play in the development of this country, if that document is to have any practical value at all.

Political tutelage revolves around the principle that because the people are not yet ripe to shoulder the responsibilities of government, a single party, or a group of leaders, must take over the active control of the state, including within the scope of their control both the legislature and the executive. Constitutional government, on the other hand, revolves around the principles that not only are the people capable of deciding on the policies to be pursued by the executive, but that they should control every act of the executive branch of government.

All through the years of the Chinese Republic —for thirty-five years—the power and influence of the executive has far outweighed that of every other branch of the government. And so long as this continues to be the case, China will remain in the stage of development known as the period of political tutelage. It is only when the executive begins taking orders from the legislative branch that any true constitutionalism will have been established in China.

The Generalissimo and the other members of the government have promised that as soon as the constitution is adopted the executive will be reorganized and be brought under the control of the legislative branch of the new government. That is as it should be. The question remains, however, whether the legislative will be entrusted with enough power to reduce the omnipotence and domination of the executive.

Hand in hand with the problem goes the problem of the ultimate power of the judiciary. In most countries the judiciary comes under the direct control of the legislature. This applies both in France and Britain. In the United States, however, the judiciary is the third branch of government, independent of the other two, and on a par with them. In any case, whatever the system in force, the fact remains that in every country the judiciary maintains a large degree of autonomy and freedom of decision, and acts as an absolutely neutral custodian of the people's rights. The position in China, however, is different. Here the judiciary has never had any independence. The new constitution guarantees some modicum of freedom to the judiciary. But will the judiciary in China really be free, unfettered by "orders of the high command?"

That China will at long last have a constitution now appears a certainty. But whether or not that constitution will become a true democratic vehicle for the advance of the nation toward genuine representative government remains problematic. And problematic it will remain until the day that the voice of the people, as represented by the legislature, is no longer heeded by the executive as "advice," but as an order from a superior to an inferior.

Close Shave

Lieutenant Colonel Frederick C. Dahlquist, who led one of the "truce teams" before he left for the States, declared in Portland, Ore., that "General George C. Marshall has saved a terrible civil war in China."

What war and who for, may we ask?

Birthday Levies

ACCORDING to press reports now reaching here from various parts of the country, the occasion of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's 60th birthday may well be remembered by the poor of China as the date when especially heavy extra-legal assessments were levied, rather than as a day of happy celebration.

Despite the Generalissimo's order that there were to be no elaborate celebrations, local officialdom, as well as national authorities, took it upon themselves to disregard his wishes entirely. First, the official celebrations throughout the country were on an unprecedented scale and undoubtedly cost the national treasury even more that day than the civil war did. Secondly, apparently the local gentry in many parts of China seized upon the occasion to squeeze a few more grains of rice from the peasantry and generally to shake down all those worth shaking.

The pretexts used by the officials in making their "collections" varied, but most were made on the basis of promises that the funds would be used for some public works project. It is needless to say that few, if any, of the schools, highways, and whatnot for which "special taxes" were levied will ever be built.

One of the more interesting accounts of the birthday levies was carried in a dispatch from Hankow in the *Hua Shang Pao*. According to this paper the "bestowment" of funds in honor of the Generalissimo's birthday was encouraged in Hankow to the extent of inviting those whose original contributions the local officials considered too low to visit police headquarters where the size of the gift was "discussed." In this manner one native bank manager, who originally kicked through with only CNC$200,000 had it pointed out to him that CNC$500,000, a nice round figure, would be much better.

In Linhsien Hsien, Hupeh Province, according to the *Ta Kung Pao*, illegal collections are the order of the day and the levy of another tax for the construction of a teachers' college in commemoration of Generalissimo Chiang's birthday was merely another straw. The tax situation, says the *Ta Kung Pao*, is forcing "chickens to fly, dogs to climb onto the roof tops and the farmers to desert their rice fields" in an effort to escape the tax collectors.

While the collection of contributions on the occasion of the Generalissimo's birthday, as long as they are voluntary and the funds are used for some constructive purpose, is not too bad an idea, the system followed this time seems to be entirely out of order.

The "contributions" appear to have actually been forced levies, and so far there is little indication that the major share of the funds thus obtained did not go to the same place that most of the other taxes and fees go, namely, into the pockets of the collecting officials.

Unemployment

Duke Of Windsor Says May Have Job In Future—*China Press* headline. Which just shows how bad this unemployment business has become....

GENERAL MARSHALL'S TOUGH ASSIGNMENT

From New York Herald Tribune

Shanghai's Wharf Pilferage

OF special interest to most Shanghailanders this week was the story of wharf pilferage disclosed by T. T. Li, chief of the Criminal Investigation Section of the Police Bureau, when he told the press of the methods employed by the "pilferers."

Methods used by waterfront pilferers or thieves are quite well known to importers and shipping companies, but the mere fact that the head of the section of the Police Bureau which is devoted to eradicating pilferage should call in the press and discuss his problems indicates that at long last some real attention is being paid to this major problem.

The suppression of pilferage, along with the tackling of other port problems, is of more importance to Shanghai at the moment than ever before. With the free port of Hongkong daily becoming more attractive to shippers, and with the newly-announced import restrictions, plus China's continuing inability to export, everything that can be done here to make Shanghai a more attractive port should be undertaken immediately.

According to Mr. Li the first type of pilferage is that done by the crews of the vessels and is usually done while the ships are making port. Next crack at the cargo is taken by coolies as they unload the ships, while the last chance is had by the workers in the godowns where the cargo is stored. With this gauntlet of greedy fingers to run it is no wonder that so many shipments fail to arrive intact and that we hear so many laments from our importing friends.

Now that the proper authorities understand just how this pilfering is accomplished, we may hope that the ravage may be reduced in coming

months. While imports are unquestionably falling off rapidly and, consequently, pilferage must also decline, we trust that the next few months will show a smaller percentage of loss than in the past.

Figures for October, the latest available, show entirely too much loss, with an officially reported 39 cases said to be responsible for a total loss of CNC$78,000,000. These figures undoubtedly do not include the many small bits of pilfering which, either because of their minor nature or because of the uselessness of complaint, were not reported. Even so, such figures are enough to discourage importers, a business group which needs no additional discouragement today.

Don Quixote Of The Year

Vladyslau Maczkiewicz, former President in exile, has appointed General Wladislau Anders, former Commander of the Polish Second Corps, as the "Inspector-General of Polish Armed Forces," says a *Reuter* report from London.

Since the president has no government and the general no army, we suggest that a vote be held among interested citizens to decide which of the two deserves the "Don Quixote of 1946" title.

Macao And Extrality

THE report early this week that Macao authorities had banned copies of the *South China Morning Post*, published in Hongkong, because the paper carried a story reporting alleged Sino-Portuguese negotiations for the relinquishment of Portuguese extraterritoriality rights, indicates a peculiar type of mentality among Portuguese officialdom.

It should be quite obvious to the Portuguese, as well as to the British and the Russians that the time is fast approaching when places like Macao, Hongkong and Port Arthur must revert to full Chinese sovereignty. It should be just as obvious to the foreign powers concerned as it now is to the British in India, as it is to the Dutch today in Indonesia, as it is to the French in Indo-China and as it was a short time ago to America in the case of the Philippines.

This ostrich-like attitude of the Portuguese in Macao is thoroughly absurd. The mere banning of papers—a good fascist habit with which we could now easily dispense—will not alter the situation. Special privileges obtained by force in times of adversity, especially ones involving cession of territory by the weaker to the stronger, cannot be maintained indefinitely. This is certainly true in this century which has seen the development throughout the world of universal recognition of national sovereignty.

The Portuguese obtained Macao at a time when the Chinese were in no position to refuse. The British, slightly more than 100 years ago, took Hongkong by force. Later, also through the employment of force, Kowloon and the New Territories were added. The Russians obtained their special position in Manchuria via the same route, only to lose it to a stronger "foreigner," Japan. Now again the Russians are back in strength and, for one reason or another, have insisted—again at a time when China could not refuse—upon the restoration of their old privileged position in the northeast.

Regardless of all the arguments advanced in favor of retaining these "concessions," such as the undisputed fact that they often provide a haven for those oppressed by the somewhat frequent tyranical Chinese regimes, the time has come when China should be undisputed master of all her territories. Perhaps the old privileges may be retained for the moment while the current civil war and the current bad government exist in China, but the days of the concessions are numbered.

Safety Of Railroads

A WINTER security campaign has just been launched in the area of the Nanking-Shanghai Railway and the measures adopted are really worth analyzing. The *Ta Kung Pao* reports from Hangchow that the Railroad Protection Headquarters, in order to ensure the safety of the Nanking-Shanghai and the Shanghai-Hangchow rail lines, have enlisted the "cooperation" of all villages situated within a distance of 20 li from the railroad. Paochia and village chiefs, and the other inhabitants of the villages, have been entrusted with jobs: to guard and patrol the railway lines both day and night. This village corps is instructed to patrol the entire line of the railway and if "bandits" are sighted, either to engage them or, if the circumstances are unpropitious, to summon troops from the nearest station. In the first case, "they are to beat the gongs and enlist the support of the villagers to beat off the 'bandits.'"

The report further reveals that the villagers, led by their corps commanders, are to repair the line immediately should it be disrupted or if the job is too big, notify the railway authorities. The most revealing part of the story, however, is that "if through negligence and non-vigilance, the railroad and bridges are destroyed or damaged by 'bandits,' the villagers will be held liable for prosecution on charges of complicity and dereliction of duty."

During the war, the Japanese used to have a far more secure system of railroad protection. Wherever a line would be dismantled there would steam up an armored train and shell the daylights out of the cluster of villages in pertinent location. But the Japanese were nothing but barbarians and never gave a thought to such things as "prosecution" and "charges."

However, any resemblance between the two systems of railroad protection should be considered purely coincidental.

It is well known that the Chinese people—the peasants, most of all—don't want to fight any war. They care nothing about railway protection, and paochia duty is not one of their innermost desires. They merely want to plough their land, sow their seed and when the harvest is ripe, maybe sell it at a small profit. And when the train goes by, they unbend from their chores and are content to look at it. Now, it seems, they will be deprived of even this innocent pleasure.

The fact that the villagers are being drawn into greater participation of the railway administration's business or are entrusted with some of the duties of the regular army certainly will not add happiness to their life. It could even be said that a lot of villagers within the 20-li zone are liable to depart elsewhere when this winter campaign really gets underway. For they are faced with the dilemma of Scylla and Charybdis, namely, and to wit, the "bandits" and the Railway Protection Headquarters.

If the "bandits" come up, the villagers, as decreed, have to fight them. If they don't, and run away they will certainly live to fight the protection authorities.

On the other hand, rumor has it that conscription is being conducted in many parts of China, including the section of the two railways in question. If railways are to be saved from the "bandits" why not let the troops do this job for a change?

Why should the overburdened Chinese peasant be forced to do a job which is clearly not his business?

Give Him The Helm

A couple of weeks ago, a Japanese wishful thinker asked for the atomic bomb to be placed "in the custody" of the peace-loving Japanese. Now, the other day, holds forth Ichiro Hatoyama, former liberal leader who was purged by SCAP, and declares: "The Japanese masses are not made for democracy. The Japanese masses are ignorant and without political experience. It is therefore necessary to entrust the steering of the ship to experienced politicians in these especially difficult times."

Do we gather, Mr. Hatoyama, that the Japanese never had any "experienced politicians in especially difficult times," or that Japan never had "especially difficult times?"

Do we understand, Mr. Hatoyama, that Mr. Hatoyama is an experienced politician?

President Wilson Launched

THE launching this week of the luxury liner President Wilson, heaviest commercial vessel ever constructed on the American West Coast, marks what we all hope is the beginning of a new era in Pacific shipping.

The real significance of this launching, aside from the fact that it adds another ship to the Orient run, is that for the first time American shippers, reflecting the new trend in American thinking, are planning for luxury travel to Asia on the same basis as they have planned for luxury travel to Europe for the past half century.

Since Pearl Harbor Americans have been prophesying that the country's future lies in the Orient, rather than in Europe. Experts on Asia, like the late Julean Arnold, predicted huge markets for American goods in China, Japan, India, and the other nations of the East.

However, to date we have seen little evidence that this optimistic picture might become a reality. Instead, China, the Philippines, Indonesia and India have been wracked with internal difficulties which threatened to keep them in their pre-war positions of relative unimportance.

NOT THE MAN HE USED TO BE

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

American publications, meanwhile, have been filled with stories and advertisements of new ship launchings for the European run, for the South American trade and so on. About all we've heard regarding shipping to Asia have been reports of a series of shipping tie-ups on the West Coast.

With the launching of the Wilson, which is equipped with "many war-born radio and automatic devices" designed to ensure safety and contribute to the comfort of passengers, we may hope that the long-predicted shift of American interest towards Asia is about to begin.

If the Wilson—and the newer ships which will follow—can be put into speedy operation, we may begin to visualize the benefits of large-scale travel between America and Asia. In addition to the cultural exchange which will necessarily follow, Asia may well find—as Europe has in the past—that large numbers of American tourists bring valuable foreign exchange which is a great help in these days of low Asiatic export volumes.

The Powerful UN

New Zealand delegate Sir Carl Berendsen denied that the UN has any right to amend the draft trusteeship agreement for Western Samoa in the subcommittee on trusteeship. He declared: "This agreement is not sent here for amendment. The only power the Assembly possesses is to disapprove. Nobody can make us amend the agreement though we shall be cooperative to the fullest extent. In the deplorable event that the Committee disapproves principles which we in New Zealand consider essential, what will be the result? It will not hurt us. It will not hurt the Samoans. We would carry on as we have in the past under the terms of the mandate (of the League of Nations.)"

Looks like the UN is getting more and more power every day....

Chance Or Design?

IS it not a strange coincidence that the recently issued import regulations should follow on the heels of the purchase of surplus property by interests officially designated simply as "China"? Communists have claimed that among the cheap cargo bought military materials occupy a very important place. Such claims have been ridiculed and it has been explained that apart from a few items all of the 7,477 articles are of a commercial nature. Taking this for granted, what will happen when all those goods appear on the market?

We do not speak of the bagatelles such as poker cards and rotten or half-rotten cigars and cigarettes. Nor do we consider shoe polish of wartime quality a very important item. But there are other goods which may play a decisive part in the market soap, industrial and pharmaceutical chemicals, various chemical compounds, textiles, leather goods, tools and dozens of other products. The market may soon be flooded with these.

All of these American goods will be found everywhere. They will be offered for sale here and there and round the corner. They will soon come to be regarded as "surplus rubbish", not because of quality but because of quantity. When consumers see a certain brand offered at divergent rates in hundreds of shops such brands lose their selling value. This is especially true in a market known as a "chop market".

Are not the import restrictions timely? How else could one hope to sell "surplus rubbish"? China, still a sellers' market, might otherwise become a buyers' market.

Businessmen in Shanghai, both Chinese and American, continue to ask who will profit from the tremendous deal. Though nobody can offer any specific information, allegations are being made, here and in the United States, that the purchases are being used "to the profit of the Chinese Government and of individuals in that government." The understanding at the time of the purchase was that the goods were offered the Chinese government at attractive terms in order that they might be marketed at attractive terms, not in order that a large profit should be made. On the other hand, it should be noted that whoever profits by the deal, the transaction was on a credit basis and no precious foreign exchange is needed at present to settle the account.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that goods which already have been privately ordered and paid for will be shipped to China in huge quantities. There are two alternatives: Either the surplus cargo will be sold by trade organizations at low prices, in which case the general public will profit; or it will be sold at prices high in comparison with its original purchase price, in which case somebody other than the public will profit. In either case importers will lose.

There is a new development. Commercial circles here and in America claim that before the deal with the Chinese Government was concluded they had already contracted for some of those surplus goods which the Chinese government is now claiming. The private importers had intended to market their purchases in China. However, they say, not only has the Nanking Government issued the well known import restrictions, but it has also prohibited the import of the surplus cargo in question pending settlement of the question of whether or not the items purchased by individual importers are the property of the Chinese government.

Meanwhile, importers do not know how they stand either on the import regulations or on the sale of the surplus property cargo. They have imported goods for which they paid with money borrowed at tremendously high rates of interest. They must get rid of their stocks not only in order to pay for new imports but in order to settle their accounts before Chinese New Year. The existence of many small and quite a few medium sized firms is threatened. No wonder observers are forecasting a financial depression that may lead to disastrous consequences at the beginning of the coming year.

25 Years Ago In Millard's Review Of The Far East

Silver For Paper

December 3, 1921.

The run on the Tientsin and Peking offices of the Bank of China and the Bank of Communications started on Nov. 15 and 16, respectively....and the two banks have imposed a restriction to cash notes to the maximum value of $5 only per person at one time. Their situation of late has decidedly improved. In less than two months' time, the crisis according to reliable inside information, will all be over....End of the run in Hankow, Shanghai and other commercial centers probably will enable the Tientsin and Peking offices to receive some specie reserve to ease the situation.

* * *

Canton Municipality

General Chen Chiung-ming, Governor of the Province of Kwangtung, by an official act in the promulgation of the Provisional Charter of the City of Canton on December 23, 1920, has initiated a modern system of municipal government applicable to all cities throughout the province. Having obtained its municipal autonomy under this charter, Canton was, on February 15, 1921, formally inaugurated a city government known as the Canton Municipality.

10 Years Ago in The China Weekly Review

Special Court

November 28, 1936.

A special district court, similar to the one in Shanghai, will shortly be established at Kowloon for the exclusive handling of lawsuits of the Chinese residents there, Wang Yung-pin, Minister of Justice, told *Central News Agency* on his return to Nanking last week....During his stay in Canton, Mr. Wang said, he discussed the matter with Dr. Philip Tyau, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs for Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Concrete measures for the establishment of the new court, however, will be decided jointly by the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, he added.

* * *

Famine In Honan

As a result of the repeated famines during the past few years, about 10,000,000 people in the Province of Honan are now without food and clothing. As the weather is now getting colder, the condition of the refugees is said to be pitiful beyond description. It is said that at least two-thirds of the Province description. It is said that at least two-thirds of the province has been affected by the famine, according to the *Ta Kung Pao.*

Hongkong Political And Economic Refuge For Liberals, Businessmen

By JOHN W. POWELL

Hongkong, November 18.

HONGKONG today is fast resuming its pre-war position as number one city of refuge in Asia for Chinese intellectuals, political "outs" and businessmen who desire security. Following the outbreak of the China Incident, numerous Chinese who found it necessary to escape Japanese persecution and who for one reason or another did not go to the interior found Hongkong an ideal sanctuary.

After Hongkong's fall the majority of these refugees made their way to Free China where they remained until V-J Day, while some returned to their homes in Occupied China. With the Japanese defeat most turned up in their pre-war stamping grounds such as Shanghai, Canton, Peiping, etc. Now they once more are on the move to Hongkong, and again the reasons for their trek are much the same. Economic instability, political chaos and tightening restrictions upon personal freedom are driving increasing numbers of Chinese to the comparative safety of Britain's Crown Colony.

Intellectuals Top List

Perhaps the most numerous are the so-called intellectuals who belong to neither Communist nor Kuomintang parties and who do not feel safe anywhere in China. In Hongkong they are free from the threat of concentration camps, assassins or, at the least, extremely strong political pressure from one group or the other. Further, as China's intellectuals are generally not men of any great financial means, they find Hongkong, with its economic order and comparatively low cost of living, doubly attractive.

A second and rapidly growing group is made up of the legitimate businessmen who find Hongkong an ideal place to preserve their wealth from predatory raids by the insatiable politicos and militarists. This group is growing rapidly with visitors from Shanghai finding more and more old friends turning up with each boat or plane arrival. Most substantial Chinese families or concerns have representatives setting up establishments in Hongkong. Ironically enough, even those families holding political power and who thus are profiting most from the chaos in China are beginning to "bank" a portion of their loot in safe Hongkong.

The lounges of the Gloucester, Hongkong and other hotels are crowded at "tea time" with refugee businessmen from Shanghai. Chinese banks are opening Hongkong "branches" at the rate of several a week. While these establishments pretend to be doing regular banking business, few are doing anything but handling the increasing flow of refugee capital.

A third and rather small group is the Chinese Communist representation. While apparently rather quiet politically, it is no secret that many of the party's former representatives in Nanking and Shanghai have slipped off to Hongkong. The exodus began shortly after General Chou En-lai's charge that Kuomintang right-winger Chen Li-fu moved to Shanghai to organize a reign of terror against Communists and Liberals.

For all refugees Hongkong today offers a pleasant contrast to their former homes in China. Although Hongkong is suffering from the same post-war problems as Shanghai or any other city in China, they are less serious than on the mainland. The administration is honest and efficient and is seriously trying to set things right. However, old Hongkong residents complain in much the same vein as we do in Shanghai. The Governor, Sir Mark Young, is frequently referred to as Sir Mark Time. Prices, it is said, are "outrageous" and the housing shortage is discussed constantly.

Price Comparison

However, all one has to do to quiet one's complaining Hongkong friends is to quote them a few comparative prices in Shanghai. Daily room rents in the city's leading hotels run slightly under US$2 per day, as compared with US$10 or better in Shanghai. One of my Shanghai refugee friends who recently arrived "bought" a newly renovated, five room apartment for only slightly more than US$2000.

One of the most serious problems is the housing shortage caused partly by wartime bombings—American bombings, it was pointed out to me on more than one occasion by Britons here—and by the looting of damaged and empty houses by scavengers who ripped up the floors, pulled out wooden beams and even stripped the window frames. Rehabilitation of these damaged and looted buildings is proceeding slowly and is not by any means providing new housing as fast as returning Hongkongites and newly-arriving refugees need it.

Future Status

Another problem confronting the Crown Colony is its future political status. Virtually all Chinese, even those at present living there because it is under British rule, say that in the near future Britain will have to return the New Territories, Kowloon and Hongkong to China. There is continuous agitation for their early return throughout all China, but especially in Canton, which is undergoing a period of trade stagnation of some intensity mainly because Hongkong, free from Central Government corruption and repressive legislation, is handling virtually all of South China's trade.

The British position seems to be completely the reverse. Hongkong and Kowloon, *ceded* to Britain in 1839 and 1860 respectively, are presumed to be permanent British territory while the New Territories, somewhat more extensive than Kowloon, were obtained under a 99 year lease granted in 1898. Some Britons feel that, when the time (1997) comes, there may be some difficulty about the New Territories, but they are scarcely willing even to *discuss* the question of the retrocession of Hongkong and Kowloon.

One prominent Briton whom I asked about Britain's position in Hongkong countered by asking me about America's position as regards the Panama Canal. He said that he thought the two questions were the same, with the only difference being that Britain took Hongkong by force 100 years ago, while America got the Canal by intrigue some 40 years ago.

Prosperity Ahead

Whatever the long-term future of Hongkong may be, it seems certain that as long as the civil war in China continues and political and economic confusion prevail, Hongkong will maintain its influential position of old, provide political and economic refuge for the oppressed of China, as well as serve as the chief trading center of South China.

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National Assembly Urged To Act To Terminate Bloody Civil War

By CHARLES J. CANNING

RECENT reports from Nanking seem to indicate that the highly-controversial and ill-fated National Assembly isn't going smoothly at this writing. Ten days have already passed since its colorful and imposing inauguration on November 15, but the National Assembly is still meeting in "preparatory session" and the only achievement it has been able to report so far is the election of its presidium. Even so, the election itself was not without amusing incidents. If the National Assembly is to last only 20 days as originally scheduled, one is apt to wonder how it can ever hope to fulfil its important mission of constitution-adopting within the next 10 days.

What's still more perplexing and surprising to thoughtful observers is the lack of enthusiasm among the people with regard to this "big event" in modern Chinese history. Strenuous efforts were made to play up the National Assembly in the controlled press and create some show of general jubilation befitting the occasion, but the result was anything but satisfactory.

Total Split, War Feared

Although the National Assembly is said to have been convened with the object of replacing the political tutelage under the Kuomintang by a constitutional government and handing back the political power to the people, the vast majority of the people don't seem to realize that the National Assembly is going to do them such a world of good. Instead, they feel greatly disturbed and alarmed lest the opening of the National Assembly should lead to a much-dreaded "total split" followed by ruthless civil warfare.

The people read the handwriting on the wall in the latest reports of heavy troop movements in North China and Manchuria, in feverish war preparations even in the rear and in the holding of closely-guarded important military conferences in Peiping and Nanking. This is one reason why the goings on in the National Assembly are being watched with misgiving and grave concern instead of joy.

It is of course still too early to size up the activities of the National Assembly, and predict its final outcome. A great deal remains to be seen before any fair, level-headed appraisal can be made. But an objective examination of the situation indicates that the National Assembly in its present form and composition cannot expect to accomplish much in clearing up the existing political mess.

In the first place, the aim of the National Assembly, we are told, is to "adopt a constitution which will meet with the approval of all parties." That "adoption of a constitution is a vital step towards strengthening the foundation of the state and inaugurating constitutional democracy" admits of no room for argument. This sounds all right in theory. But how does it work out in relation to the existing situation in China which is in immediate grave danger of being torn and devastated by a nationwide full-dress civil war?

Want "Fire" Put Out

As far as the common people are concerned, the most pressing problem confronting China today is how to stop this internecine strife, which if allowed to develop for any length of time, would undoubtedly undermine the very existence of China and produce grave international complications. China's internal fighting must be stopped and that the sooner the better if collapse of the national economy in the near future is to be averted and if the Chinese people are to be spared untold suffering and privation.

When a house is on fire, the most sensible thing to do is to put out the fire by all possible means and prevent any loss of life and property. It would be ridiculously stupid and criminal to waste time engaging in idle discussion as to how to prevent or fight a fire without doing anything actually to fight the fire and thus letting the house be burned down to the ground.

With the spreading of the flames of civil warfare, China today is just like a house on fire. It is therefore just as stupid and criminal to talk glibly about constitutional government and ignore the most pressing problem of the day—to stop the ever-spreading civil war.

Liberties—On Paper

Theoretically speaking, the importance of a constitution for a modern democracy can hardly be emphasized. This is particularly true in the case of China, where government by law exists only on paper and where the ruler's word is law. But unless the civil war is promptly stopped, what guarantee is there that the constitution, even it be a beautifully written democratic one, will be put into effect and not remain a dead letter? The Chinese people have had a lot of bitter experience in this respect. During the past 10 years, many laws and regulations have been adopted and promulgated concerning the rights of the people. What practical results have been produced? The answer seems to be that these laws and regulations have become scraps of paper.

Moreover, even in a well-established democracy, the political liberties of the people are often curtailed when the nation is at war. So it is quite clear that as long as war is on, the enforcement of a constitution will be greatly handicapped.

It may be good policy for the National Assembly to concentrate its attention on the adoption of a constitution and sidestep the highly-controversial question of civil war. But in doing so, the National Assembly cannot expect to do much in solving the burning problem with which China is faced. Herein lies the reason why the general public has assumed an attitude of indifference toward the National Assembly.

Secondly, the so-called China problem, when stripped of all trimmings, consists substantially of the struggle between China's two major political parties, the Kuomintang and the Communists Party. The strength and influence of the Democratic League has increased considerably in the past two years, but it will be some time before the third parties play a decisive role in China's internal politics.

No Unity Or Prosperity

Such being the case, unless the Kuomintang and the Communists terminate their fractricidal struggle and work out some sort of compromise China will remain divided and there will be no national unity or prosperity to speak of.

Participation in the National Assembly by the Social Democratic Party and the Young China Party may serve a useful political purpose in making the Assembly look more representative, but the China problem still remains unsolved. The boycotting of the Assembly by the Communist Party and by the Democratic League of China makes it extremely difficult for the Assembly to "adopt a constitution which will meet with the approval of all parties," let alone make any substantial contribution to a fundamental solution of the problem.

The opening of the National Assembly has destroyed whatever faint hope remained that the peace negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Communists would drag on for some time and that an open rupture might be averted. The door to future peace talks is practically closed, but not bolted. Three days after the inauguration of the Assembly, the Communists recalled their delegation in Nanking and General Chou En-lai, chief Communist negotiator, and his staff flew back to Yenan. Prior to this, the National Government had already called back its military mission in Yenan. Now the Communists keep a small liaison group in Nanking to maintain contact with the government.

Military Showdown Due

It is pretty clear that following the collapse of the peace talks both the Kuomintang and the Communists are making feverish preparations for a military showdown as a way out of the present political impasse. In anticipation of an imminent drive on Yenan by the government forces, the Communists have issued an urgent mobilization order for the defense of the border districts. Meanwhile, it is reported that the Reds are massing troops for possible large-scale counter-offensives in Manchuria, Shantung, Hopei and Honan.

On the government side, Nanking made no secret of heavy troop movements in Shensi, but stressed the precautionary nature of this move. Government army commanders in

Peiping openly told the press that Yenan would fall into the governments' hands in December.

Government army commanders who were in Nanking to attend the National Assembly have been ordered to return to their respective posts to "provide for emergencies." Heavy supplies of war materials are being rushed to North China with the result that the Northwest Highway is virtually closed to commercial traffic. In sharp contrast to the frequent shutdown of factories, all the arsenals and war plants in Szechuen are reported in *Ta Kung Pao* to be operating at capacity.

Both Sides Confident

Both sides seem to be confident of their ability to beat the enemy. The Nationalists expect to "crush" the Communists in five months, while the Communists feel pretty sure of striking telling blows at the Nationalists in the next several months and thus bringing about a complete change in the whole situation. Time will tell who is right and who is wrong.

But even now there is one thing of which we can be reasonably sure and this is that the Kuomintang and the Communists are likely to fight an "undeclared war" in the future just as they have done in the past. The fighting will be wider in scope, greater in intensity and more destructive of lives and property. There will be no quarter asked and none given. It will be a fight to the bitter end.

For the present, neither the Kuomintang nor the Communist Party has resolved to risk a "total split." Despite its confidence in "crushing the Communist troops in five months," the government for political and military reasons still considers it good policy to reiterate its determination to solve the Communist problem by political means and to strike a conciliatory attitude by reserving in the National Assembly and in the re-organized State Council a token number of seats for the Communists.

Opportunity For Assembly

The Communists for their part have not yet announced the convocation of a "National Assembly" for their liberated areas and the formation of a separate "Central Government." Both sides are playing a wait-and-see game. How long this state of affairs will last remains to be seen. The developments in the military situation in the next several months will have much to do with shaping the things to come.

As I had occasion to point out in a previous articles (in *The Review* of November 16), whatever the developments in the military situation, the China problem must be solved by political means and through political channels. The National Assembly would be rendering a timely valuable service to the nation if in addition to the assigned task of constitution-adopting it could take the initiative in terminating the bloody fighting between the Kuomintang and the Communists and in working out some practical formula for breaking the present political deadlock.

Hirohito's Carefully Processed Tour Shrewd Political Move

By JAMES R. YOUNG

Editor's Note: This is the second in a series of articles by the world-known newspaper correspondent who resided 13 years in Japan, who returned recently to make a tour of a countryside which the Emperor was visiting. Mr. Young passed through Shanghai this week.

Nagoya, Japan.

PSYCHOLOGICALLY, the carefully processed tour in the heart of Japan's imperialism and militarism, is a shrewd political maneuver of the old line Tokyo Palace Guard who marshaled the country people as obeisant bystanders for the man who early this year was supposed to have renounced his divinity.

On the second day the carefully guarded entourage passed a quarter million who stood two deep for 18 miles in one stretch, in ditches, fields, on bridges and in narrow village streets.

Old folks sat on specially provided straw mats. Children, at a signal by whistle, would break out with paper flags, waving them until their enthusiasm and energy broke the thin sticks to which they were attached.

Closeup Now Permitted

Ordinarily the peasantry would be stationed three blocks from the procession and bow as the Emperor's auto passed. Thus, few Japanese have ever seen an Emperor—they felt only the spirit moving along, and that was all.

Now they step up to the limousine, touch the tires, and stand within a few feet as the Emperor waves before entering the maroon vehicle.

Tonight the Emperor slept in a country school. Floodlights picked up the hedge around the yard. The military occupation force team reconnoitered constantly, cognizant of elements which are opposed to the Emperor system, and of those who claim to be descendants of the divine goddess.

Battalion Stands By

An American battalion was prepared to alert to any part of the huge prefecture on an hour's notice in event of an emergency affecting the Emperor's safety.

Injury by accident or death by force would bring chaos.

I should imagine that when he is on these trips, the Allied Command in Tokyo is in constant fear of mishaps. The Emperor is being reconditioned and his people are the subjects of a new orientation program. An incident would wreck, temporarily, the process.

The journey is as significant as a premier going to the farmers and laborers to arouse support for new government legislation.

May Sway Elections

That is the political opportunism of the tour. Japan's new constitution calls for the election of governors and lord mayors, by the people. The central government will no longer appoint them. The Peerage has been abolished. The Emperor will no longer select its members. But the current appearance can endorse candidates whom the Palace wants in power.

In Japan, the newly acquired rights of women to vote are disliked by the politicians. So they bring the Emperor on a tour to back the male candidates.

The Emperor waved to admiring crowds. One of 120,000 in a station plaza broke down fences and barricades, then rushed the royal coach, the mob crossing the railroad tracks to shout "10,000 Banzai." Everyone appears to be thankful. They clap their hands, bow, smile, yell, in the belief that his August and Divine Being has brought them a bumper harvest. They are grateful that he had arranged the peace and saved the world from devastation. In the hands of honest advisors, the Emperor could utilize these hard-working people to rebuild their cornerstone, but they will be cheated by those who are jealous of their autocratic prerogatives.

Exciting Two Years Seen Ahead As Result Of GOP Triumph

By JAMES L. STEWART

Los Angeles, Nov. 12.

THE definitive word on the recent elections which saw the Republican Party sweep into legislative power came from America's leading wit Fred Allen, who put into the mouth of a character on his popular radio program the statement: "The Missouri Waltz isn't on the Hit Parade any more."

As to predictions concerning the future, it is probably wisest to wait for a while. Initial Republican boasts following their clearcut victory surpassed prior gloomy predictions as to the barrenness of GOP plans. But this was caused in part by the fact that the less able members of the party did the most talking. For example, Senator Brewster of Maine hailed the Republican triumph because "now we can have another Pearl Harbor investigation." Other Republicans have shouted that they will reduce taxes and balance the budget at the same time. Still others have called for stronger attitudes against Soviet Russia with reduced government expenditures which would have to come from the Army and Navy Departments.

Bark Worse Than Bite

The chances are, however, that Republican barks are worse than their bite. With the exception of drastic anti-labor legislation, the Republicans are not likely to carry out their post-election boasts. Government expenditure, in my opinion, will not be greatly cut; taxes will probably remain at their present levels for another year, and the long-threatened Congressional probes of Democratic iniquity will not be decisive.

The responsibilities of power may gradually loom more important than its privileges in Republican eyes, and after a short flurry next January when the GOP representatives first take their seats in Congress, this observer expects to see some genuine statesmanship emerge from Republican ranks.

Against this exceedingly optimistic forecast, there are two points of caution. The new labor laws that the Republicans are determined to write will determine whether there is to be peace or war between management and labor. The ranks of labor themselves will not react violently to some modifications in the Wagner Labor Relations Act, for the jurisdictional strikes that have been much a part of the industrial scene have aroused the public to a high pitch of wrath.

Battle May Develop

Should the GOP go farther than the correction of such abuses in their new legislation, however, organized labor may revolt. At the moment Senator Ball of Minnesota is calling for the legal outlawing of the closed shop. This is a curious policy indeed for the man regarded as the number one stooge of Harold Stassen, presidential candidate for 1948.

In some far future era of full employment and crash-proof prosperity it may be profitable for the American people to investigate the closed shop and order it modified so that complete liberty is provided for every individual. But in the present situation where management and labor have not come to a perfect understanding, to declare the closed shop illegal would be to jeopardize the livelihood of the nation's organized workers; and these gentlemen do not take the threat of jeopardy in quiet fashion.

The second point of caution regarding Republican Party programs concerns our foreign policy. We have just gone through an orgy of public support for our present bipartisan policy. Senator Vandenberg has assured the world that it won't be changed. The elephant having trumpeted, the jackals of the Republican Party have taken up the cry—foreign policy is above partisan politics and won't be changed.

Yet students of American affairs both here and abroad must realize that United States foreign policy can be defeated by the very people who promise to uphold it. Such policies toward other nations as the United Stated has at the moment depend on many things—the strength of the American military machine, including the numerical strength of American troops in such countries as Germany and Japan; the reciprocal trade agreements; the State Department's information program.

Exciting 2 Years Ahead

If the Republican legislators weaken any of these foundations in our foreign relations, our foreign policy will be destroyed just as surely as if Senator Vandenberg were to attack Secretary of State Byrnes on the floor of the United Nations Assembly.

The United States will be going through an exciting period during the next two years. There will be many words, including promises and threats concerning the future course of the American government. Wise observers will place less emphasis on the words than on the ensuing action.

Ho Lung's Army Remains Intact, Confident Of Eventual Victory

By SIDNEY RITTENBERG
(A.F.P. Correspondent)

Yenan, Nov. 21.

HO LUNG'S army, whose guest I have just been in a cross-country journey from Kalgan to Yenan, has the highest and cockiest morale I have ever seen. It has never been a huge army and it always has been known for its fighting spirit, which wrested the rugged Shansi-Suiyuan area from the Japanese. Most of this area comprising northern Shansi and reaching far up into Suiyuan was taken from the Japs before their general surrender. Parts of it have been an "anti-Jap base" for eight years.

When I reached Yenan and read the United Press dispatch from Nanking saying that 16 brigades of Ho Lung's had been smashed and the rest of his army was very much discouraged, I had to laugh. Ho Lung never had 16 brigades in Kalgan. Not a single battalion of Ho Lung's —let alone a brigade—has been smashed. I never saw the outfit with more battle spirit and more confidence in a final victory.

Rugged, Arid Territory

After two weeks in the Chinchachi territory—the Shansi-Hopei-Chahar area—I passed into the rugged arid Chinsui territory—the Shansi-Suiyuan area defended by Ho Lung. Here also, my letter of introduction from the Kalgan authorities secured for me food, lodging, guides, mules and great hospitality. Though the Kalgan city itself was already in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek, its elected government was still recognized not only in its own territory but in the adjacent sister territory of Ho Lung.

As soon as I found the field headquarters—it was so well concealed that I hunted for it all day and passed within a mile of it three times without finding it—the field commander offered me dozens of cans of American canned milk that came to him by a very devious route.

This milk and other canned goods totalling 1000 cans were American Army property given to UNRRA, which gave it to the Chinese Government's relief organization CNRRA, which gave it to Yen Hsi-shan, Governor of Shansi Province, who gave it to his army officials. Ho Lung's Communist-led forces took it from Yen's army in a battle.

"See how it comes back to the Americans,'" laughed the general, offering me as much as I could use.

The field commander apologized for "poor hospitality," adding "I came one night, fought the next day, I have been fighting ever since." Actually the entertainment was excellent and the headquarters orderly, efficient and full of supplies. They provided cotton padded suits without charge for my three Chinese companions, who left Kalgan without them and found the nights cold in the Shansi hills. Large quantities of these winter uniforms were going on donkey-back to the front.

Linked By Telephone

Ho Lung himself was not at the field headquarters but in the central headquarters somewhere east of the Yellow River, a week's journey further on across the rugged hills.

However, he had learned by radio from Kalgan that we were coming and informed the field headquarters and all the county seats along our route by telephone. He has telephone contacts over the wide area by wire taken from the Japs.

During the week's journey, I often met small detachments of Ho Lung's soldiers hiking up the hills and singing. Those songs were usually about themselves and especially about the so-called production movement. For instance, "Who raised more chickens than anyone? Liu Wang raised most of the chickens! Everybody study Liu Wang." This singing group was encouraging labor hero Liu Wang who marched in their midst.

Poor Area

Chinsui, one of China's poorest areas, was one of the worst devastated by the Japs. I saw many signs of revival and progress. Many coal mines and vegetable oil presses have reopened. There is much transport on the road through the transport cooperatives in which the farmers pool their horses and buy carts together. Most county towns were bombed or burned flat within the walls by the Japs, but new markets flourish outside the walls accepting Ho Lung's money, which is exchangeable for Kalgan money. A new handicraft paper mill produces paper for newspapers and books.

I stayed three days with Ho Lung and went one evening to see Chinese drama with him. The plays were very ancient, about old heroes and generals. Ho Lung sat in the front row with me and kept the audience in convulsions by making pointed comparisons between the ancient warlords and the present day ones in his booming jovial voice.

"We Will Eventually Win"

Discussing the present war, Ho Lung said, "We have lost some towns and the war will be long because the American Government provides Chiang Kai-shek with supplies against the Chinese people. However, when our Eighth Route Army first came to this area in 1938, it was the land of the starving, naked peasants under Jap rule. We have carved the base in which nobody starves or goes naked. We have an army that grew from guerrillas and is now a regular army of good proportions. Our war now is one of movement in which, with the Chinese people's support, we will eventually win."

A total of 658 prisoners is being detained at the Ward Road Jail here, accused of high treason against China or of collaboration with the enemy. Seven have been sentenced to die, including Liang Hung-chih, head of the puppet Reformed Government under Wang Ching-wei.

* * *

Threats against the lives of British Prime Minister Clement Attlee, Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin and Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery have been made and elaborate precautions were taken to protect them, it was announced last week. The threats were believedly made by Jewish underground workers, whose activities have been extended to Europe and America.

China's Foreign Critics

By S. E. SHIFRIN

Tientsin, Nov. 25.

THE conclusion of the Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, and the coming conclusion of a treaty of an identical nature between China and Britain, puts Sino-foreign relations on an entirely new footing of equality. For foreigners as well as Chinese what is most needed at the moment is a sense of perspective, a sense of the fitness of things. Too many are the foreigners making irresponsible generalizations about China. But just as many, if not more numerous, are the Chinese who would be deliriously happy to see all foreigners leave China. Both parties would benefit from taking time out for reflection.

Chinese newspapers of all shades of political opinion during the past year have been consistently criticizing foreigners—especially their activities in the field of trade and commerce. More outspoken views have been repeatedly expressed orally by many Chinese, and they have a strong odor of commercial competition and jealousy. It is only now that they have their outspoken foreign counterpart—"Ex-Friend of China," who expressed his sentiments about China in a letter to the editor of the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*. If both parties really feel as bad about things as they say they do, they seem to have overlooked one solution—that of hiring a suitable place and slugging it out. Maybe it would relieve feelings all around. And maybe not.

Many "Old Hands" Gone

It is quite understandable that one of the bitterest letters to the editor to be printed in Shanghai since its liberation was written not by an old-timer but by a self-confessed American greenhorn of four months' residence. Understandable because many of the Old China Hands have left and those who remained have done so with their eyes wide open to realities. If conditions don't suit them, they say, they will just pack and go, perhaps not without grumbling, but without staging a song and dance recital about it.

Undoubtedly many foreigners residing in China now would not care to quarrel with many a complaint contained in the letter. Shanghai is one of the easiest places in China to pick up a frustration complex, and it should seriously be considered as an international resort for extroverts who need a change of environment. But however bad conditions in China may be, neither the Chinese Government, nor the long-suffering Chinese people can by any stretch of even a vivid imagination be held responsible for failing to live up to U.S. Army orientation talk specifications. In addition to writing acid letters to the editor "Ex-Friend" seems to have forgotten another way of blowing off steam—starting court action against responsible U.S. Army officers for the value of "shattered illusions."

Rose-Colored Glasses Out

For those U.S. boosters who painted a rosy picture of China both during and after the war, this should serve as a warning. Their chickens are coming home to roost. The exaggerations which may be permissible in describing an ally in wartime are not advisable during peacetime. But evidently the U.S. public has as many misconceptions about China as during the war and the big tomtoms are still throbbing, sending their message of obstinate optimism to any who care to listen. To the drummers it matters not that disappointment will turn people to the other extreme of wholesale condemnation and bitter criticism.

"Ex-Friend"—one of those hurt—was simply sore at the wrong party and it was just as futile for him to get into a rage about China as it was to sneer at the Chinese Army. Good army or not, the Allies during the war found it desirable to keep China in the fighting line—a desire reflected in the newspapers of the time. China was important enough to immobilize nearly 1,000,000 Japanese troops. Would "Ex-Friend" have preferred them in the jungles of the Pacific? Maybe he might even want to start it all over again just to prove his point.

Many, too many, are the irresponsible statements made in China today about what would happen if all foreigners were to leave China. They

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foresee a catastrophe, a technical collapse, "Ex-Friend" has gone one better. In his letter he suggests carrying away from China of transportation systems, power plants and other technical installations brought by foreigners as well. To read his letter one might think that their installation was a matter of philanthropy. That it definitely wasn't, though beneficial to China, it was as any other capital investment just a matter of cold cash, a dollars and cents proposition. Perhaps the comfort of foreign residents of the concessions also played a small part. If conditions have changed since to make the investments unprofitable, or if the investors were unfairly treated, that is another story.

China today is, and many Chinese will admit the fact, undoubtedly a country which technically lags behind many a smaller country in Europe. China does not have enough technicians and machines, and she does not have enough machine-conscious individuals to manage the machines. And perhaps one of the most important causes is the fact that many of the technical installations are government-owned and operated and much sand will flow through the hour-glass before consciousness of government property as people's property and so to be taken good care of will become rooted in the Chinese subconscious. But even were we to admit the possibility of a technical collapse, it would be a temporary one. The progress of no nation can be permanently blocked by such a possibility. At worst national development would only be retarded. While the good Chinese technician may or may not be as good as any other, it is no solution at all in a nationalist world to let China always depend on foreign technicians. Just as anthropology has proved that racial purity and peculiar racial traits are fallacies, so too it is probably with racial aptitudes, which are largely dependent on environment—and what technical environment did the Chinese technician have? For, as a comparison in another sphere, China today has only the second generation of modern college professors.

China is on her own now. Gone is extraterritoriality. Gone are the concessions. Gone are the unequal treaties. Whatever some people might still think, that era has gone into the limbo of things forgotten. Those Chinese now especially bitter against all foreign criticism should have another think. It is the outright criticism that is the final proof that China is on her own now.

Responsibility Overlooked

Ever since the National Government was set up in Nanking extrality has been constantly under fire. It was the burning topic of the day. Foreign governments were being accused of hampering China's development, of encroaching upon its sovereignty, of harboring criminals in the concessions and of a host of other things. This by the more moderate Chinese nationalists. Among their most oft-repeated assertions was the claim that China was quite capable of looking after several tens of thousands of foreigners. Now, over a year after V-J Day, with the Chinese Government again in control of the coastal areas where most foreigners reside, it is only natural that the treatment of foreigners be considered in the light of past assurances.

Still fresh from the abolition of extrality the Chinese are understandably touchy about real and fancied encroachments on China's sovereignty. But less understandably many of them petulantly refuse to recognize the complement of sovereignty—responsibility. By treaty and otherwise China has pledged herself to take care of the guests within her borders. It is time for voices spreading the gospel of anti-foreignism to be stilled. Above all some Chinese today seem to forget the rule of reciprocity in international relations—for in the identical manner that foreigners are treated in China, so will Chinese eventually be treated abroad.

It would gain China nothing to get rid of the foreigners within its borders—it would not add to technical efficiency, nor would it better China's trade balance. At most it might benefit a minority group at the expense of the whole nation. Nor would the voices of criticism be stilled even if all foreigners were to leave the country. There would always be newsmen and diplomats closely watching events and developments in China. And the play does not become better if the critic is thrown out on his ear.

Masters Of Own Ship

After a long war and with current internal difficulties, it is understandable that many things are not as they should be. Which is true not only of China at this stage of her development but of other countries as well. But until there is really only One World, foreign residents here in their exasperation would do well to remember that they are living in a foreign country and that if conditions are not what they shoud be, perhaps nationals of the country are suffering even more.

Great things are possible by intelligent application of Western technology and initiative to Chinese conditions, great things equally beneficial to all concerned. It is up to the Chinese entirely whether the promise will come true, for there are no more concessions and they are masters of their own ship. It is up to them entirely whether the ship hits the rocks or enters harbor on time. And in spite of all letters to the editor foreigners in China are after all a minority aboard, even though they may be first class passengers in their capacity of guests. As to the captain and crew: it would be pointless for them to dump passengers overboard, for the custom of making people walk the gangplank is even deader than extrality.

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NEWS OF THE WEEK

NA Adopts Rules Of Procedure; Reds Prepare Yenan Defenses

MUCH democratic procedure was reported during the past week from Nanking where the National Assembly, attended by a number of Social Democrats besides the Kuomintang, Young China Party and independent delegates, continued its efforts to fulfill its functions of passing the constitution and fixing a date for its enforcement.

Only two or three dissident voices were heard in the local Chinese press, which continued to point out that the legality of the National Assembly was much in doubt due to the absence on the floor of Democratic League and Communist delegates, ingredients which would make all the difference in the long run. The Government-inclined press merely reported the wranglings and voting in the Assembly, assuming that all went well.

There was not much hope for early resumption of negotiations between the Government and the Communists. In the first place, the Communists declared that a "new inter-party basis" was a prerequisite to a resumption of the talks, which signified that they still insisted on a stringent adherence to the PCC decisions. Communist Wang Ping-nan in Nanking declared that the Government "must show initiative in convening the inter-party conference along the lines of the PCC." In the second place, the Government still kept vacant the seats in the Assembly allotted the Communists and the Democratic League, indicating that if they made up their minds to participate they could always walk in. The net result was that both sides remained as far apart as the poles.

Lo Lung-chi, spokesman of the Democratic League, appealed to the Government not to launch its attack on Yenan in order to leave the door open for resumption of parleys. A *Central News* dispatch from Nanking quoted "military observers" as saying that the Government would launch a punitive campaign on Yenan if the Reds held a rival assembly and "if the Communist troops continued to attack Yulin."

A few days previous to this report, Information Minister Peng Hsueh-pei declined to state categorically that there would be no attack on Yenan. He said Communist charges of an impending attack were "another Communist propaganda stratagem heralding some fresh expansional activity."

In Yenan, Anna Louise Strong interviewed Gen. Chou En-lai upon his return to the Red capital and reported the general as saying: "One's nerves can relax in Yenan....Here it is possible to rest." Chou said that Communist participation in the present Assembly is tantamount to "deceiving the Chinese people into thinking that it is truly the representative Assembly decided upon last January by the PCC." He reiterated the Red charge that the Assembly was designed to legalize the one-party dictatorship.

From Washington came the report that Export-Import Bank officials declared that the US$500,000,000 in credit can be available to China as soon as Gen. George Marshall certifies that "the country is stable enough internally to warrant risking a large loan."

* * *

U.S.

THE trial of John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers' Union, 400,000 members of which had walked out since November 20 to uphold their slogan of "no contract, no work," began midweek before a Federal Court in Washington. Lewis was arraigned on charges of contempt of court when he failed to give his miners orders to continue working during a 60-day "cooling off" period while another contract was being negotiated.

In a preliminary Federal hearing, Lewis' attorney admitted that the court order prohibiting the strike was ignored by Lewis, but held that the court had no right to issue this injunction, because the "union's action in terminating the contract with the government was legal and proper."

Behind the legal issue, the Government continued to tighten its coal reserves. Official announcements said the coal strike would seriously affect the American economy and American shipments of coal and food to Europe.

Federal Judge T. Alan Goldsborough issued a warning to labor

"WILL HE KNOW WHAT TO DO WITH IT?"

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unions to "watch their step" lest Congress adopt measures which would set them back "with drastic legislation," presumably referring to labor's gains during the Roosevelt Administration.

From Denmark, Jens Willemoes, Minister of Commerce, broadcast that owing to the American coal strike, gas consumption throughout the nation would have to be cut by 30 percent and the quality reduced by 20 percent, beginning November 27. He also predicted curtailment of railway traffic by 30 percent, as well as a reduction of goods traffic.

Thus far, the exact demands of the miners have not been reported, but it is understood they want higher wages and shorter working hours.

* * *

HONGKONG

A GENERAL boycott of Hongkong and the severance of communications with the British colony, something similar to the 1925 general boycott, was threatened by "public bodies in Canton," which were irate over recent killing of a Chinese hawker allegedly as result of a kick dealt by a member of the Hongkong Police Force. Various committees have been formed to aid the family of the hawker and have demanded the punishment of the culprit, payment of an indemnity to the hawker's family and an assurance that such incidents would not occur in the future. If this satisfaction was not obtained, a boycott was urged.

Reuter's reported from Canton that such a boycott would inconvenience no one but the 1,500,000 Chinese at present living in the island, since Hongkong is not dependent on the Chinese mainland for food as in pre-war days. Besides, as previously reported, Hongkong has assumed an independent trade position since V-J Day and does not serve as the transit point for foreign trade with South China to the extent it did before the war.

* * *

VIETNAM

THE Vietnam Government last week received one ultimatum and one protest, while a minor war developed around Haiphong, where Vietnamese troops were reported to have occupied the Chinese quarter. French troops shelled that part of Haiphong, where native units had entrenched themselves in Chinese merchants' houses.

This latter action on the part of the troops of a government China has not yet recognized as an independent administration, drew a protest from the Chinese Government, which said that "Vietnam troops had fired on the Chinese Consulate and wounded a member of the staff."

The ultimatum handed to the Vietnamese Administrative Committee in Haiphong demanded the withdrawal of troops and the disarmament of the Vietnamese population. The French bombed Kien after the expiration of the ultimatum deadline.

The Vietnamese view of the hostilities, which were especially sanguinary in Langson, was summed up by Hoang Huu Nam, Under-Secretary of State for the Interior, when he de-

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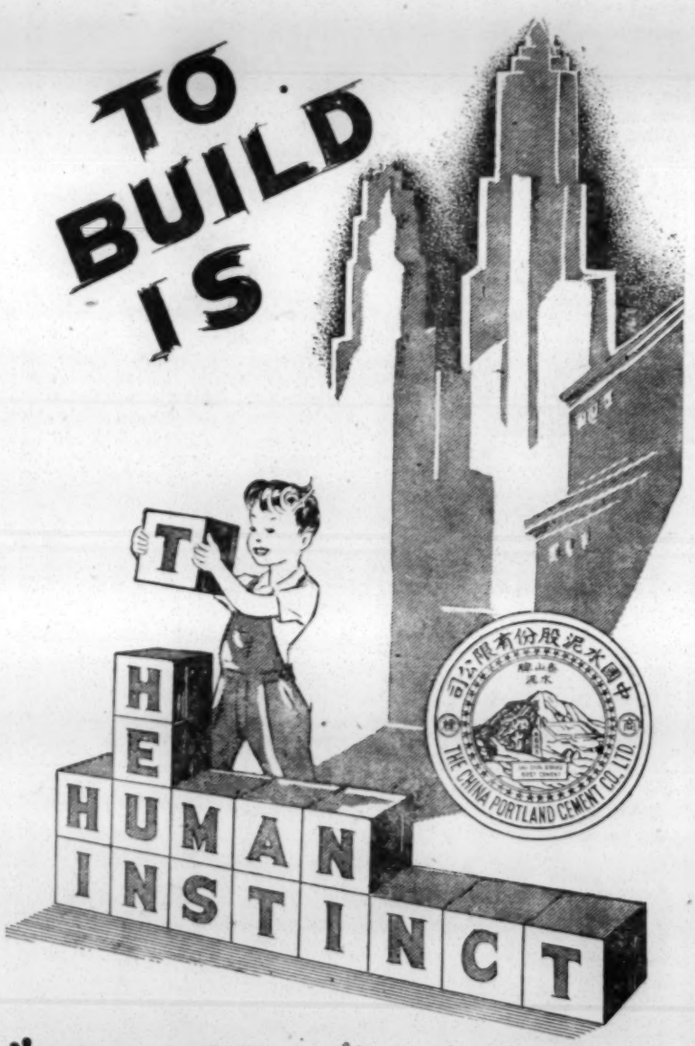

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cleared: "Vietnam is fighting for its independence and is using every means at its disposal."

President Ho Chi Minh of the Vietnam Republic charged the French with responsibility for the recent Langson incident and demanded that military operations cease and "Franco-Vietnamese friendship materialize."

The French, on the other hand, declared that the Vietnamese were undermining recent agreements with unilateral action, part of which was the application of a unilateral customs system in spite of the accord reached on a federal economic system.

Americans Observe Thanksgiving Here

THE main event on the program of the American Association of Shanghai in observance of Thanksgiving Day was the service centering around the reading of the Presidential Proclamation marking the occasion. The Holy Trinity Cathedral was filled with Americans and friends who gathered to hear the President's message and a sermon by Bishop R. A. Ward on Thursday. The Benediction was pronounced by Dean A. C. S. Trivett of Holy Trinity Cathedral.

Besides the service, which included the reading of the Scriptures, the singing of hymns by the congregation and chorus, and inspiring organ music, local Americans marked the day with elaborate dinner parties abounding in good cheer.

Attention, Subscribers!

Subscribers should note that today's wrappers carry one or more of the stamps commemorating Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's 60th birth anniversary.

The full text of President Truman's proclamation reads:—

"At this season, when the year is drawing to a close, tradition suggests and our hearts require that we render humble devotion to Almighty God for the mercies bestowed upon us by His goodness.

"Devoutly grateful to Divine Providence for the richness of our endowment and the many blessings received, may we continue to give a good account of our stewardship by utilizing our resources in the service of mankind. May we have the vision and courage to accept and discharge honorably the responsibilities inherent in our strength by consecrating ourselves to the attainment of a better world.

"Now, therefore, I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, in consonance with the joint resolution of Congress approved December 26, 1941, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 28, 1946, as a day of National Thanksgiving and I call upon the people of this nation to observe that day by offering thanks to God for the countries vouchsafed us, and by rededicating ourselves to the preservation of the "Blessings of Liberty envisaged by our forefathers in the preamble to the Constitution.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

"Done at the City of Washington this twenty-eighth day of October in the year of our Lord Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Six and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and seventy-first."

Harry S. Truman

By the President: James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State.

President Truman, in proclaiming Thursday, November 28, as Thanksgiving Day, followed an annual custom established by President Lincoln in 1864. Celebration of the holiday, however, dates back to the year 1621, when the Pilgrims set apart the day for thanksgiving immediately after their first harvest in Masssachusetts Colony. The festival has been observed ever since, although it did not become a national holiday until after the Civil War.

UN Secretary Trygve Lie has submitted a proposal to the General Assembly for creation of seven branch offices around the world, in addition to the present branches in London, Paris, Geneva and Copenhagen, and asked for allocation of US$265,000 for the purpose. The proposed branches would be scattered in India, the Middle East, Central Europe, Eastern Europe, Latin America and South Africa.

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Agricultural Mission Submits Suggestions

HAVING completed an extensive tour through 14 provinces and Taiwan, the 24-member Sino-American Agricultural Mission presented its suggestions for technical collaboration between the Government of China and the United States in the field of agriculture and forestry.

The mission suggested that an ingrated program of agricultural instruction, research and execution be developed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and the Ministry of Education, and the establishment of six central research bureaus located in the capital, nine strong regional centers in the main areas of the country and agencies in the provinces and hsien.

Adequate foreign credit at lower cost should be sought by the Government, this to be augmented by the establishment of the Bank of Agriculture to supply the necessary credit. Standardization of market regulations and the governing of agricultural products should be enforced.

The question of the "pressure of population on the relatively limited aggricultural possibilities of the nation" should be urgently attended to, while emphasis should be placed on the construction of chemical fertilizer factories to improve scientifically agricultural production.

As the concluding suggestion, the mission advocated definite measures to encourage the export of important agricultural commodities now seriously restricted through the present exchange rate and the high cost of inland transportation and credit.

Spain again has refused to extradite Leon Degrelle Belgian rightist and collaborationist, to either Germany or Belgium. The British request was turned down because Spain "did not see fit to respond favorably." Degrelle fled to Spain in German uniform.

Hunan Farmers Leaving Homes, Fleeing

MISCELLANEOUS "items of extortion" are causing the people of Hunan to abandon their land and flee to other parts of the country, the *Ta Kung Pao* states on the basis of reports from Changsha last week. The paper said both President Chiang Kai-shek and Food Minister Ku Chen-lun had sent urgent cables to the Hunan Provincial Government, ordering it to accelerate the collection of at least 80 percent of the land tax apportioned for this province by the end of the month, and to fulfill the entire quota by the end of the year.

The report declared that the peasants of Hunan are plagued not alone by this collection of the land tax in kind—a heavy enough burden in itself. Thus, the inhabitants of the Ling Hsiang district are forced to contribute grain for the purpose of building the Pao Ho hospital, the presentation of a Chung Cheng Normal School in honor of President Chiang's birthday, the construction of a prison, primary school buildings, payment of teachers' salaries and innumerable other levies.

"All these extortions are driving the people in the rural areas to their last resources," the *Ta Kung Pao* said.

Impending changes in Canadian embassies and legations in China, Belgium, Chile and the Union of South Africa were announced this week by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, who also revealed that Canada would consider admitting European refugees after it has studied the case carefully.

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What U.S. Papers Say . . .

LEADING American newspapers discussed the opening of China's National Assembly, commented on events in Japan and the signing of the truce in Indonesia.

* * *

ASSEMBLY

THE outcome of the National Assembly was viewed with skepticism by a number of American papers last week. Comments ranged from expressions of "hope" that democracy is eventually evolved in China, to the flat statement by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that the Nanking Assembly is a "fraud."

The *New York Herald Tribune* saw in the opening of the Assembly a rare opportunity for Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who, the paper said, was facing his greatest test. "His destruction of warlords who ravaged his country, and his valor in the long resistance to Japan make bright pictures in a stirring biography. But if he persists in clinging to one-party rule, if he fails to give democracy to the Chinese, if he throws his country into the chaos of a bitter civil war, then it is not probable that he will, as he desires, go down in history as the man who made modern China unified and strong."

When the Generalissimo opened the Assembly he quoted with approval the words of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the paper said. "He endorsed the essence of Dr. Sun's principle of nationalism. But the audience he talked to was dominated by reactionaries, the same extreme conservatives who control the political machinery of the Generalissimo's Kuomintang party. Not only the Communists, but most of the minor-party leaders had refused to participate in the Assembly." The paper said the non-Communist Chinese stayed away from the Assembly because they did not expect the writing of a democratic constitution.

"They saw in prospect only a consitution that would fasten upon China the tenacles of the corrupt and incompetent right-wing political bosses of the Kuomintang," the paper said.

The *New York Herald Tribune* concluded by saying that there is more hope "for him in reform than in corrupt one-party government. There is far more for him to gain from democracy than from reaction."

The *New York Times*, declaring that the Assembly met in an "atmosphere of gloom and frustration" because "only a pretense of unity was there," said there was "faint hope" that other parties and even the Communists might join later.

"It does not follow that because an all-out military struggle between the Communists and the Government now appears inevitable, it is inevitable," the *Times* asserted. "The burden of such a catastrophe is too heavy for either side to bear, too contrary to the heartfelt longing of the Chinese people for a peaceful settlement."

The *Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "No one is under the illusion that a new day is dawning for China." Concerning American aid to China, the paper said that "President Truman made the provision of such aid continent on China's progress toward 'peace and unity' by the institution of a 'broadly representative government. In the year since V-J Day, enormous sums and military supplies have been furnished to the Chinese Government without fulfilment of this condition. America is entitled to demand a decisive evidence of democratic intentions from the present Assembly," the *Monitor* concluded.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* declared that the Assembly is attempting to give a "democratic facade" to a continuation of Kuomintang rule and that those "who are attempting this strange delusion of the world must believe that other nations are gullible, indeed." The pretense will not work, the paper declared, "the fraud is too obvious. Chiang would do better to call it off, and having done so, resign himself to a genuine effort to give China the representative government which was the objective of the revolution he espoused."

* * *

JAPAN

THE *Louisville Courier-Journal* wrote that in many ways the Japanese task is easier than that in Germany, for "there are no occupation zones administered by other powers, the framework of the government, headed nominally by the emperor, is intact." And furthermore, the paper said, the highly centralized form of Japanese government is ideally adapted to facilitate local government from the national level.

That peculiarity, doubtless, simplifies the problems of occupation, the paper thought, but at the same time it glaringly reveals the chasm between the Japanese government concept and democracy. "There is neither tradition nor local provision similar to the principle of American states' rights. Two of the chief responsibilities of local government, education and police, are controlled by the national government.

"The problems of Japan, like those of Germany, are grim reminders that there is no magic way to change totalitarianism into democracy; and that our occupations must procede slowly and patiently and long, if by object lesson and formal instruction, these people are to learn a whole new process of government thought," the paper concluded.

* * *

INDONESIA

THE *Christian Science Monitor* viewed the truce signed between the Dutch and the Indonesians as another "step in the massive devolution of empire." It marks a triumph of common sense over fanaticism, compromise over self-interest, the *Monitor* declared.

The paper added, however, that the largest part of the job remains to be done: President Soekarno must sell this compromise to the extremists who want no vestige of Dutch power in the country.

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What Chinese Papers Say . . .

DURING the past week, local and outport papers commented freely on the new import regulations, and the making of China's new constitution now in progress at the National Assembly in Nanking.

• • •

REGULATIONS

HAILING the new move on the part of the Government in adopting a policy of control with regard to its import-export trade, the *Ho Ping Jih Pao* (Peace Daily), organ of the military clique, urged the Government to increase its efficiency along with the enforcement of the new regulations.

The *Shih Shih Hsin Pao* (China Times) declared that although the Government has worked out the new regulations with a view of strengthening the nation's domestic production and export trade, "political stability" is the prerequisite toward attaining both these aims.

The *Shang Pao* (Commercial Daily) supported the Government in its departure from "laissez faire" trade to controls. That the new Control Commission organized to enforce the new regulations must rid itself of bureaucratic attitude and practice, the paper warned, is essential to the success of the control policy.

Hailing the declaration of the government that the new move is designed to aid the nation's home industries and further her export trade, the *Shang Pao* suggested the necessity of "some basic change" regarding China's economic policy.

The liberal *Wen Wei Pao* declared that the new regulations will after all give a measure of protection to the nation's home production, provided their enforcement is not handicapped by the traditional evils of officialdom.

To revitalize China's national industries, the *Wen Wei Pao* suggests, the Government should contrive means to rid the industrialists of the bad influence of the skyrocketing prices, the usurers, and the burden of numerous taxes.

Stating that foreign merchants will come to China to set up firms as already stipulated in the Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation, the paper expressed fears that the new regulations will do little to strengthen the home industries owing to the inability of the latter to compete with foreign industries.

As long as smuggling still remains rampant, the paper warned, the influx of foreign goods through illegal channels will, to a large extent, nullify the effect of the new regulations.

Stating that the provisions of the regulations that government offices will enjoy greater privileges in obtaining foreign exchange, the *Wen Wei Pao* pointed out that the interests of bureaucratic capital are given more protection than those of the people.

The independent *Ta Kung Pao* hailed the new regulations, saying that they will certainly serve to balance the nation's import-export trade and offer some degree of protection to the national industries. As to whether the government will attain the latter goal, the paper said, depends on the ruling out of certain commodities from importation.

Actually, the paper pointed out, the undesirable situation with China's trade has largely arisen owing to the importation of "foreign goods by the privileged few." The paper said that the "adoption of a policy of control will, perhaps, harm the rightful interests of the merchants on the one hand, and benefit the "privileged few" on the other.

Quoting a statement by Dr. Soong, who said that many "people seek to buy greenbacks on the blackmarket after failing to get foreign exchange from the government," the paper urges the Government to consider "in what manner these people should be prevented from obtaining it." Before the authorities can combat inflation and adopt a reasonable foreign exchange policy, they ought to encourage export trade through granting subsidies to the industrialists," the *Ta Kung Pao* concluded.

• • •

CONSTITUTION

The *Chung Yang Jih Pao*, official organ of the Kuomintang, suggested that the teachings of the Founding Father were the first things to be borne in mind in making China's constitution.

Besides, the paper declared, the constitution should be made to suit the "special case of China," while taking into account the basic principles of democracy.

Under the heading of "Horrible Idea," the *Ta Kung Pao*, expressed its grievances at the attempt of some members of the Legislative Yuan to render the constitution not a "progressive and democratic one."

The constitution draft of May 5, 1936, the paper declared, is not dedicated to the principles of democracy and progress. There are not a few who are still trying to keep it unchanged, the paper lamented.

During the debate over some articles of the 1936 constitution draft among the members of the Legislative Yuan, the *Ta Kung Pao* stated, one of them declared that "only those who are conforming with the beliefs of the Kuomintang can aspire to be Chinese citizens. A horrible idea!" the paper exclaimed.

In conclusion the paper reiterated its conviction that autocracy is the deadly foe of democracy and that the elimination of the aforementioned "horrible idea" is essential in making China's constitution a success.

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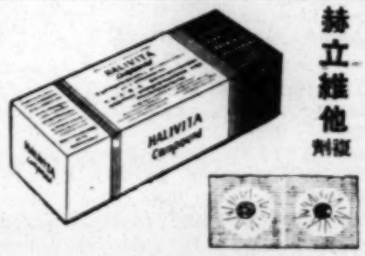

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EVENTS IN BRIEF

Generals attending the National Assembly at Nanking have been ordered by the Generalissimo to return to their war zones immediately. The move was taken by observers as the signal for an all-out offensive against the Communists in the north and northeast. Top-ranking military leaders, at the same time, are arriving at Peiping for a conference with Chief of Staff General Chen Cheng.

* * *

Twelve special planes carrying withdrawn Executive Headquarters field teams from Manchuria arrived at Peiping last week the *Hsin Min Pao* reports. Tension in Manchuria was heightening, the paper added.

* * *

Medicinal narcotics were found among surplus goods by U.S. Foreign Liquidation Commission representatives while retrieving blood plasma from the black market here. The Chinese Government was informed and corrective measures will be taken immediately after investigation is completed, it was learned.

* * *

The Municipal Police Bureau reported that 280 persons committed and 559 attempted suicides in Shanghai between January and October. Most of the cases were attributed by poverty and family disputes.

* * *

A gang of more than 20 pirates boarded two ships carrying 1200 piculs of salt after they opened fire on the vessels in the Whangpoo River last week. The ships were then forced to proceed to Lotien near Shanghai, where the pirates removed to salt but released the ships. The cargo belonged to the Chekiang Salt Administration.

* * *

While Foreign Office sources stated the government will take a firm stand when a more stabilized situation permits negotiations for return of Hongkong and Macao, the Tsingtao City Council cabled various other city councils to urge Nanking to demand retrocession of the above territories and withdrawal of Russian troops from Dairen and Port Arthur, UP reported last week.

* * *

The Nov. 20 issue of the *South China Morning Post* of Hongkong, carrying a *Reuter* dispatch on Sino-Portuguese negotiations for relinquishment of Portuguese extraterritorial rights, was banned by the Macao authorities. The paper was returned stamped "Prohibited by Censor."

* * *

The Chinese Legation in Manila is reported to have lodged a protest with the Philippine Government against high-handedness in seizing stocks of "frozen" sugar in Chinese warehouses. The protest said agents carted the sugar out at night after forcing open the warehouses, UP reported last week.

* * *

Latest reports said 225 persons were dead or missing and 3000 homeless after a typhoon struck Negros Province in the Philippines last week. Five hundred houses were said to have been destroyed and 1000 seriously damaged.

* * *

School teachers of Kashmir in North India have decided to fast unto death unless their demand for increase in salaries is granted by the authorities. A general strike has been called for December 5.

Habeas Corpus To Be Respected

The Shanghai City Council's application to respect the principle of *habeas corpus* in China has been accepted, the Executive Yuan informed the Shanghai Municipal Government this week. The Shanghai-Woosung Garrison Command and the Police Bureau have been notified of the Executive Yuan directive by the SMC.

An anti-opium campaign in Shanghai is slated for Dec. 16 by the Shanghai Opium Suppression Committee in a meeting presided over by Mayor K. C. Wu this week. A general checkup of suspected addicts will be launched as of January 1, 1947.

* * *

Twenty-nine Catholic martyrs killed during the 1900 Boxer uprising in China were beatified at Rome in a grand ceremony officiated over by the Pope last week. Present at the ceremony were members of the diplomatic corps in Vatican City.

* * *

Martial law was declared this week in Zenjan, 40 miles south of Azerbaijan, after Iran Government troops fought their way into the city to halt an alleged Azerbaijan "reign of terror." Zenjan is the farthest northern penetration point of government troops since the Azerbaijan revolt last year.

* * *

Allied Military Government in Trieste feared that more workers will down tools this week if the tram drivers' strike is not settled soon, as more than 100,000 gas, water and electricity workers have joined in the strike for a 30 percent wage increase.

* * *

Belgian Communists this week suffered crushing defeat at the hands of the Catholic Christian Socialist Party in municipal elections throughout the country.

* * *

A Philippine Government announcement stated that "finishing touches" are being put to Chinese-Filipino treaties on aviation, trade and general relations, while Minister Chan Chih-ping has left Manila for Nanking to discuss them with the Generalissimo. It is believed the question of illegal entry of Chinese into the islands will also be taken up with the Generalissimo.

* * *

The Chinese Embassy at Bangkok has received an anonymous letter threatening the use of extralegal measures against "economically aggressive" Chinese residents. The Chinese Ambassador personally has received several letters from threatening Siamese.

* * *

Agreement was reached last week among UNRRA, CNRRA, National Conservancy Commission and Communist representatives on the closing of the main gap of the Yellow River dykes. The closure to be completed by January, 1947, will yield 21,300,000 bushels of rice and wheat from the reclaimed river bed annually, CNRRA estimated.

U.S. Diplomats Voted Higher Salaries

AMERICAN diplomats are to benefit under a new law passed by the 79th Congress which provides that salaries and allowances of America's top diplomats and their embassy staffs are to be raised to the levels of those of Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The quality and training of the men who take charge of affairs at embassies and ministries are to be improved, according to this law, which was passed by the last Congress, just before its adjournment, without debate. This is the first important piece of legislation to affect the diplomatic service since 1924 and the first pay hike for ambassadors since 1855.

How well the diplomatic service will benefit, however, depends on the sums Congress will appropriate to finance it.

The expansion of world trade and the importance of the press has created a change in the typical close-mouthed diplomat who is today expected to be a good business man and to be able to handle the press as an information specialist.

Trade Experts Needed

Business interests in the United States clamor for more emphasis on trade in diplomatic dealings with foreign countries. America's huge shipping fleet and her aviation industry expect the diplomats to open up new opportunities abroad. American farmers rely on them to furnish information on future demands for American farm products. American diplomats are expected to furnish facts on world resources in view of the growing shortage in the United States of many minerals and in particular on the uranium supplies elsewhere.

The result has been that either the American diplomat has to be an expert in every branch of activity or to rely on experts who will furnish the information for him. The latter has been the case, and U.S. diplomatic ranks are swelling with experts on commerce, agriculture, petroleum, minerals, finance and transportation.

Pay Increased

Allowances and salaries for top diplomats are to be increased and the American ambassador's pay to Great Britain, who now receives around US$30,000 a year, will be increased to equal that of the British ambassador in Washington, who gets about US$70,000.

The result of this new law will be that American diplomats will no longer be forced to dig into their private funds to finance entertainment and hospitality—necessary parts of a diplomat's job. Another result will be the wider choice of candidates who do not necessarily have to be wealthy men. For a long time, presidential appointments often have gone to men whose wealth had contributed to the success of the political party in power.

On the whole, the new law indicates growing Congress appreciation of the larger role of American diplomacy and growing influence of the United States in world affairs.

Who's Who in China

GEN. CHOU EN-LAI, Chinese Communist leader; born of a penniless Mandarin family in Huaiyin, Kiangsu, 1898. His grandfather was a high official under the Manchus, his father a teacher,

Gen. Chou En-lai
（周恩來）

and his mother a well-read woman; attended Nankai Middle School and then studied at Waseda University in Japan; later also in France, Germany, and England, 1920-1924; started his revolutionary career with "Awakening Society," which he and some other students founded in Tientsin, 1911; led Tientsin students' rebellion and was subsequently arrested together with a group of other students, among them Teng Ying-ch'ao, a girl whom he married in 1925, 1919; founded in Paris with other Chinese students Chinese Communist Youth Group, a branch of Chinese Communist Party, 1922; returning to China in 1924, joined Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Canton and was made director of Political Training Department of Whampoa Military Academy, of which Gen. Chiang Kai-shek was president; ordered by Revolutionary Headquarters to direct workers of Shanghai to seize the city, March 21, 1927, and after succeeding in doing so, was compelled to flee Shanghai as Gen. Chiang had sentenced him and other leaders of Shanghai insurrection to death; went to Nanchang; capital of Kiangsi via Wuhan and organized Nanchang uprising and founded Red Army, August 1, 1926; went to Swatow in Kwangtung and set up a commune of Communist workers which was in existence only 10 days, December, 1927; carried on underground Communist activities in various places, 1927-1931; served as political commissioner to General Chu Teh, commander of Red Army in Communist areas in Kiangsi and Fukien, 1931-1935; after the fifth campaign led by Gen. Chiang Kai-shek against Communists, accompanied Red Army during its March to North Shensi in autumn of 1935; sent for from Yenan to Sian by "Young Marshal" Chang Hsueh-liang to discuss what was to be done with Generalissimo Chiang, then held captive by the former December, 1936; according to the late Mr. W. H. Donald, Gen. Chou advised Chang to set the Generalissimo free and thus helped to bring about a united national front against Japan; served as liaison representative of Communist Party successively in Nanking, Wuhan and Chungking, 1936-1938; appointed vice-director, Department of Political Training, Military Council, and also nominated member of People's Political Council, 1938; as ties between KMT and CP were much weakened after New Fourth Army Incident on January 17, 1941, Gen. Chou remained the only link between Yenan and Chungking during 1941-1944; participated in KMT-CP talks as chief Communist negotiator, 1944-November 1946, when he returned in Gen. Marshall's plane to Yenan upon the convocation of the National Assembly and the final collapse of KMT-CP-Third Party negotiations; Gen. Chou has been a member of Central Committee of Communist Party since 1926; his wife, Teng Ying-ch'ao, is a foremost woman Communist; address: c/o Central Standing Committee, Chinese Communist Party, Yenan.

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

DR. WANG CHUNG-HUI, well-known Chinese diplomat and political scientist, opines that the revised draft constitution of China is a workable combination of presidential and cabinet system "worth a trial." Dr. Wang was at one time Chief Justice of the International Court of the League of Nations.

* * *

YIM KIM, chairman of the Korean League in Japan, denounces U.S. authorities on the grounds that they take advice from the Japanese government in dealing with Koreans. Kim was protesting a ruling by SCAP to the effect that Koreans refusing to return to their own country from Japan must obtain Japanese citizenship and be treated thereafter as Jap nationals.

* * *

GEN. THOMAS HANDY, deputy chief of staff to Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, arrived in Nanking from Korea on a tour of Alaska and Pacific areas. General Handy, who was the guest of Gen. Marshall in Nanking, was accompanied by a group of high War Department officials.

* * *

MME. LIAO CHUNG-KAI, nee Ho Hsiang-ning and widow of one of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principal lieutenants, emphasized in an interview with UP Dr. Sun's adjuration to the people of China to join with Russia in repelling the forces of imperialism.

* * *

AW BOON HAW, China's "Rockefeller, known as the "Tiger Balm King" because of his famous cure-all Tiger Balm, has arrived in Nanking from Singapore. Mr. Aw announces that he has been organizing a corporation to be capitalized at CNC$30,000,000,000 for the development of Fukien and also that he intends to establish several newspapers. Mr. Aw expressed his confidence in Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and in the National Assembly.

* * *

GREGORI STADNIK, Ukrainian delegate to the UN, was shot in the head by gunmen who robbed a small New York restaurant where he was dining. New York police gave assurances that no effort would be spared in investigating the matter.

* * *

DR. Y. C. TU was formally installed as president of St. John's University at a ceremony on Saturday, November 23. Dr. J. Leighton Stuart, U.S. Ambassador to China, delivered an address on the occasion to the effect that higher education must prepare the younger generation for an "intelligent, patriotic and courageously active citizenship."

* * *

GEN. LIN PIAO, Commander-in-chief of Communist forces in Manchuria, warned all Executive Headquarters teams in Communist territory in Manchuria that he would no longer be responsible for their safety.

CHU HSUEH-FAN, Chairman of the Chinese Labor Federation, is reported by *The China Mail* to have been seriously injured when a ricksha in which he was riding was struck by an automobile, on the night of the 23rd. Chu was in Hongkong whence he had fled after issuing an anti-Kuomintang statement in Shanghai.

MAYOR K. C. WU has circularized all Shanghai Municipal Government offices, reminding them to adhere to his previous order to the effect that one-third or three-tenths of all lamps were to be extinguished to save electricity.

* * *

CHANG TAO, formerly president of the puppet Supreme Court since 1940, was sentenced last week to life imprisonment and his properties were duly confiscated.

* * *

SIR HARTLEY SHAWCROSS, British Attorney-General, told the United Nations League of Lawyers in Washington last week that "talks of drifting towards another war must stop." In the debate about the Big Five veto Sir Hartley saw a healthy sign of a developing interest in the importance of international law.

* * *

MISS HSIA PING-SHIN, an alumnus of Yenching University who has made a name for herself as an authoress, will undertake to write a biography of Dr. J. Leighton Stuart. Having collected the material Miss Hsia plans to write her biography while in Japan, to which she is accompanying her husband, Mr. Wu Wen-tsao.

* * *

MAO TSE-TUNG is still in Yenan, according to the AP correspondent in the Communist capital. The Communists are without air transportation and an overland trip to Kiamutze would be out of the question for a man of Mao's years. Earlier rumors placed the Communist leader in Kiamutze for a conference.

* * *

DR. T. V. SOONG is reported to be deeply incensed by threatening letters sent him purportedly by Japanese ronins in Shanghai, who seem to have associated themselves with Chinese criminal elements in an attempt to extort CNC$2,000,000,000 from the president of the Executive Yuan.

* * *

J. A. KRIPALANI, new president of India's Congress Party, last week outlined the party policy. He declared that the "greatest danger to our freedom is communal differences" and described these differences as the foreigners' last trump card in preventing the independence of India.

* * *

HAROLD J. LASKI, former chairman of the British Labor Party, declared that what Britain does about the nationalization of mines "is going to settle whether we remain a first-class power with a voice in the future of the world or whether we descend to the level of a second-class power." He opined that developments in the organization of British mines would play a large part in determining the standard of living in a considerable part of Europe as well as in England.

Bars Soar Higher As Stocks Slump; Foreign Trade Decline Foreseen

THE Shanghai market remained firm during the week ending November 23 with gold quotations raising to CNC$2,657,000 last Saturday. This firm trend continued this week when gold was quoted at CNC$2,740,000 on November 26.

As usual many reasons were offered to explain this situation, but the most important ones were probably the lack of confidence in *fapi* and the large demand locally because of the higher prices in other cities, with Canton reportedly quoting more than CNC$3,000,000 per 10-oz. bar.

It must be mentioned that the gold market was quiet from November 18 to 20 immediately following the announcement of the temporary foreign trade control measures by Dr. T. V. Soong, which were interpreted by many to indicate that the foreign exchange rate would not be revised. However, by last Thursday, quotations had started to rise, reaching CNC$2,650,000 on Saturday. Meanwhile, the gold price in Hankow was CNC$3,000,000, in Wusih CNC$2,850,000, in Tientsin CNC$2,800,000 and in the Northeast CNC$2,950,000.

5000 Bars Sold By Bank

During the week, the Central Bank of China sold 964 gold bars through the gold shops, aside from 4000 bars which it sold in the black market on November 20 and 21. The following list gives the sales during the week and the prices at which they were made:

Nov. 18	150 bars	at CNC$2,497,500
19	200 bars	at CNC$2,497,500
20	60 bars	at CNC$2,485,000
21	204 bars	at CNC$2,512,500
22	200 bars	at CNC$2,587,500
23	150 bars	at CNC$2,620,000

With the price of gold up, quotations for American dollars also firmed up. On Saturday, the American dollar was quoted at CNC$4800 but little trading was reported.

Stocks Slump Slower

Business on the Shanghai Securities Exchange was very bad during the week with quotations for Wing On Textile down to CNC$545 on Saturday. This weak trend continued this week with Wing On Textile once as low as CNC$476 on November 26. The introduction of forward trading failed to improve business conditions and as many as 10 brokers resigned from the Exchange, in addition to which one declared bankruptcy.

The main reason for the adverse conditions on the Exchange was the general poor business of the factories and commercial firms having their shares traded in the Exchange. Coupled with high rates of interest, speculators and investors have found it a losing proposition to buy stocks and shares. During the past week, it was stated that several factories had sold their own stocks and shares, causing great confusion in the market.

Daily turnover decreased as shown below:

	Spot	Forward Shares
Nov. 18	7,884,900.....	6,852,000
19	7,015,000.....	6,384,000
20	8,553,100.....	4,551,500
21	16,714,000.....	14,514,500
22	8,554,600.....	6,373,500
23	4,824,500.....	5,730,500

Commodities Rise

Commodity quotations, notably cotton yarn, peanut oil and artificial silk, again increased during the week. For four days, no business was done in the yarn market as the merchants were prohibited from trading above the official prices. On Saturday, however, some business was done at the official prices. Very secretly, well-informed circles state, trading was done at the black market rate of CNC$4,200,000 for 42's Blue Phoenix yarn.

The following table gives the quotations of some of the leading commodities during the week:

	Nov. 16 CNC$	Nov. 23 CNC$
Gold bars	2,530,000	2,567,000
US Dollar notes .	4,850	4,800
Bond C	1,650	1,420
Wing On Textile	622	545
Ewo Cotton	7,500	7,000
Rice	58,000	57,000
Peanut oil	140,000	135,000
Wheat flour	19,000	20,000
20's yarn	2,400,000	2,500,000
Raw silk	3,750,000	3,900,000
Artificial silk ..	4,000,000	4,000,000
Ruby Queen cigarettes	12,900	14,500
Koo Ban soap ..	48,500	47,700
My Dear matches	620,000	625,000

Trade Decline Seen

Trade in the future, with the announcement of the temporary foreign trade control measures, will necessarily be decreased.

According to statistics released by the Customs, China's imports for October totaled CNC$202,700,645,000 while China's exports for the period were CNC$17,587,172,000, a ratio of 12 to 1. When compared with September, China's October imports decreased by CNC$19,905,525,000 while her exports dropped by CNC$35,932,991,000.

Among the imports, raw cotton again led the list and was followed by steamships bought by Chinese shipping companies, wool and fur, chemicals, and stationery and paper. In exports, fats led the list, followed by bristles, tea and leather.

UNRRA imports totaled CNC$22,213,137,000 during the month, representing an increase of 300 percent compared with September. Among UNRRA imports, raw cotton also led the list.

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Old China Hands

Col. Gilbert A. Stuart is awaiting transport to his native Australia after 12 years in China. Col. Stuart's years with the Chinese Army were distinguished by pioneer work in the training of paratroopers and by his part in the Burma campaign. After visiting his parents in Melbourne, Col. Stuart will head for the States, where his wife is expecting a baby.

Mr. G. Findlay Andrew is looking forward to home leave in England shortly. Head of the Chinese Affairs office of Butterfield & Swire, Mr. Findlay is now on a visit to Hongkong.

Butterfield and Swire's C. C. Roberts is pinch-hitting for Mr. D. K. Landale, of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., as a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils of Hongkong. Mr. Landale is temporarily absent from the colony.

Mr. and Mrs. Sol Alcone have arrived in New York, where they plan to spend a couple of weeks before returning to the West Coast to embark once more for Shanghai. Mr. and Mrs. Alcone were interned at the Chapei Camp.

Proud possessors of a new Ford Sedan, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph R. Bossuet have arrived in that vehicle in New York after a pleasant trip across the continent. Mrs. Bossuet is to fly to Paris shortly, her husband to follow on the Queen Elizabeth.

A Shanghailander on leave reports the following old hands to be disporting themselves in New Milton, Hampshire: Mr. and Mrs. W. Slade Bungey—Mr. Bungey is almost recovered from ill treatment in Bridge house—Mr. and Mrs. E. T. Jones, and Horace Mecklenberg and his wife.

In South Devon the same informant found Connie Brewer. Her daughter Mary (Mrs. Roy Squires) is in America with her husband. Peggy Brewer Jones is expecting a child. J. P. MacDermott and Maggie were staying with Mrs. Brewer. George and Mrs. Worby are near neighbors; so are Jean and Helen Leach, and Jean Brown.

In and around London several other old acquaintances were encountered, among them Robert Bailey and Harry Moore. At a tea party given by Ellen Roach and Heather, the guests included Mrs. Frank Lees, Vera Snow, and Mrs. "Bill" Bader. It is learned that among those who have died are Bert Roach and "Dee" Brown in plane accidents; Ernie Thorpe and Herbert Langley also are dead.

Sir John Masson, a director of Butterfield & Swire, expects to visit Shanghai again to investigate conditions and consult with members of the staff. This will be the first time in many years that Sir John has been to Shanghai, although he lived here over a considerable period in connection with the Taikoo enterprises.

Last week Mr. J. Hunter was in town for a short visit. Mr. Hunter is accountant for Butterfield & Swire in Hongkong, whence he has returned.

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BEWARE OF IMITATIONS!

Local Workers Disavow Assembly Delegates

THE Shanghai General Labor Union issued a denial early this week that the so-called "Shanghai Workers' Delegates to the National Assembly" had any legal standing with the Union. "In violation of the holy PCC agreements the government convened a one-party National Assembly and brought about a national split which will continue for a long time," the declaration said, adding that "to oppose the present one-party Assembly is to defend our own liberties and our right to live."

The declaration asserted that "the Chinese people, especially we workers, have suffered much under this one-party dictatorship and the civil war." It said factories were closing down and unemployment is spreading, while "Kuomintang gestapo men are moving freely about in the factories, beating, blackmailing and even arresting workmen whenever they want.

"Reading the list of the National Assembly delegates we were surprised to discover that five people.... are representing the workers of Shanghai," the statement said. "We workers of Shanghai never elected them and have never heard their names before," it asserted.

The declaration expressed sympathy with Chu Hsueh-fan, saying that the Chairman of the Chinese Labor Association was forced to leave China "in the face of political persecution."

The statement ended with five slogans, among which were: 1) oppose the one-party Assembly; 2) deny the legality of the "workers delegates," 3) demand the dismissal of the Assembly meeting; 4) popular, direct and fair elections of delegates to the Assembly; and 5) pay tribute to Chu Hsueh-fan, for "his righteous action."

Red Newsboy Kidnaped In Chungking

NEWSBOY Chang Chin-cheng of *New China Daily News*, Communist paper in Chungking, was kidnaped by plainclothes men and two uniformed gunmen on November 20, according to Communist sources. The report asserted that the newsboy was lured to a deserted place where the men gagged and bound him and took him into a dark room where he was questioned about the editors of the paper. Chang was cross-examined until midnight that day and finally forced to "sign a paper of repentance," the report said.

In spite of intimidation not to sell the Communist paper, Chang returned to the *New China* offices but was again abducted next day and threatened with death if he revealed his experience, the Communist report declared.

The Communist representatives filed a protest with the Chungking Kuomintang authorities asking for protection for their staff-members.

BUSINESS FOOT-NOTES

Documents, including notices, bills and receipts, issued by local foreign-operated utility companies, at present published in English, should be written in Chinese or accompanied by a translation, the Social Affairs Sub-Committee of the City Council decided early this week.

* * *

The wartime accumulated supply of bristles in the United States, totaling more than 1,000,000 pounds, will be liquidated, according to a decision of the Defense Supplies Corporation. The liquidation will take place at fixed prices and the bristles may be exported. In the July-September period the United States imported 1,678,000 pounds of bristles, including 1,633,000 pounds from China and 25,000 pounds from Russia.

* * *

The Committee of the International Labor Office at its closing session in Brussels, agreed that the "adoption of a working week of not more than 40 hours in the textile industry is ultimately inevitable." The Committee adopted resolutions covering needs for increasing production, wage questions, recruitment and training of personnel, improved working conditions, welfare facilities and holidays with pay.

* * *

The rationing of daily necessities enforced by the Hongkong Government with the aim of halting commodity inflation and stabilizing the livelihood of the population is providing goods 200 percent cheaper than current market prices and is affecting the business of Chinese products, an official of the China Native Goods Company declared.

* * *

A contract has been signed between CNRRA and the Shanghai Steamship Companies' Guild which placed the majority of the administration's vessels under Chinese shipping concerns in an effort to speed up relief and rehabilitation work in China. The approval of the Executive Yuan is awaited before the actual transfer will take place.

* * *

The Chungking *Hua Shang Pao* reported last week that the Central Bank has already issued large quantities of CNC$5000 and CNC$10,000 bills, but is reportedly hesitating to issue them for public use for fear of the effect on commodity prices. The paper also said that the Chungking Office of the Central Bank of China is collecting CNC$100 notes and destroying them.

* * *

The prices demanded for Japanese silk on the American market, in October, already US$0.75 below previous prices, are expected to cause a drastic decline in silk prices in the United States. The International Statistics Bureau report on textile apparel declared: "We expect continued steady decline in raw silk prices."

* * *

British hosiery manufacturers are reportedly awaiting "impatiently" for the arrival of the first shipment of Japanese silk thread, promised many months ago by SCAP. British industrialists, however, are said to be skeptical about the possibility of receiving considerable quantities of Japanese raw silk, since the Far Eastern markets must be satisfied first, an AFP report said.

* * *

Following the suspension of the monthly grant from the Central Government to the Kwangtung Provincial Government, Governor Lo Cho-ying, having "solved the rice crisis in the province," visited Nanking to solve the financial problem, AP reported from Canton. While taxes will be the source expected to provide funds for administrative expenses, the provincial government has borrowed CNC$2,000,000,000 from Canton banks as a temporary measure.

* * *

The fact that it is more profitable to remit money from overseas in Hongkong money through that port, overseas Chinese are beginning to send ever increasing sums through these channels and are having their funds deposited in Hongkong banks. Remittances from abroad registered by Canton banks fell to CNC$-9,000,000,000 in September, considerably lower than the August figure.

* * *

Tea merchants in Shanghai are planning to send a delegation to Nanking to petition the Government for subsidies for tea purchases and export, the *Sin Wan Pao* reported. As an alternative, they plan to ask the Government to buy their available stocks.

* * *

Since early last May, the Central Trust has conducted 58 auction sales and has disposed of Government property and commodities valued at CNC$55,400,000,000. Between August 19 and November 21, alone sales brought in CNC$10,500,000,-000.

* * *

Practically all the godowns formerly holding enemy and puppet goods and property have been cleared by the Alien Property Administration, which is said to have deposited with the National Treasury sums well above CNC$400,000,-000,000, the *Shang Pao* said. When the remaining stocks are sold, the Government estimates the final returns to total CNC$500,000,000,000.

* * *

Most of the mulberry tree growing areas in Kwangtung have been transformed to sugar cane plantations, causing a decided decrease in the output of cocoons, during the spring and autumn of the current year, the *Sin Wan Pao* reported. Today's Kwantung silk outpt is about 30 percent of the 1937 production, and if compared with the 1927 "golden age" constitutes only four percent.

* * *

The Central Bank of China here will receive for than 40,000 ounces of gold from Canton, seized from enemy and puppet officials after V-J Day.

* * *

A Korean trade mission, accompanied by one American officer, was due to leave Korea for China to negotiate the resumption of trade, the *Sin Wan Pao* reported. Korea expects to send apples and marine products in exchange for Chinese salt, coal, stationery, foodstuffs and medicines.

* * *

Of the 636 members of the Cotton Yarn Merchants' Guild, 83 have already withdrawn from the body prior to November 15, due to the "double burden of official rationing of yarn by the China Textile Development Corporation and the black-market confusion," the *Ta Kung Pao* reported. Early this week, 15 more members of the guild ceased operation.

* * *

Lingnan University in Canton was voted a gift of HK$20,000 by the Hongkong Government recently in recognition of the assistance it gave to Hongkong students during the war. When the Japanese captured Canton in 1938, the university moved all its facilities to Hongkong and later into Free China when the enemy took Hongkong. In voting the gift, the government emphasized the importance of the university in promoting Sino-British friendship.

China's Civil War

As Reported Day By Day In The Press

November 20, 1946

GOVERNMENT press dispatches reported strong Communist pressure on all fronts of the civil war, in particular Red attacks on Tsinan, capital of Shantung, on Lanfang, a railway station on the Tientsin-Peiping line, and in the direction of the Manchurian city of Szepingkai.

A spokesman of the Generalissimo's Headquarters in Peiping announced the capture by Government troops of Lungkwan and Chicheng, both in Chahar province.

* * *

November 21, 1946

Generalissimo Chaing's order to the generals attending the National Assembly to return to their war zones has been interpreted as meaning an overall government offensive against the Reds in North China and Manchuria, according to AP.

Dairen, allegedly under Communist control, and Harbin are expected to become the centers of severe fighting if troop movements are taken into account, UP reported from Peiping.

A UP dispatch from Nanking said Communist Inner Mongolian cavalry detachments were attacking the Hungkenhtu area, 30 miles north of Tsining, in Suiyuan Province. Attacks were also reported on Suanhwa, 15 miles southwest of Kalgan, while Government forces were attacking Liulin, 115 miles southwest of Yenan.

November 22, 1946

Controversy continued in press dispatches as to who occupied Dairen, the Chinese Reds or Soviet troops. An official denial from the Communists said they had "no control of Dairen," while Chinese press reports continued to speculate on the subject.

General Lin Piao, Communist commander in Manchuria, had reportedly warned all Executive Headquarters teams in Communist territory in Manchuria that he would no longer be responsible for their safety. A Mukden dispatch, however, intimated that Nationalist and American members of the teams would continue working despite the warning.

* * *

November 23, 1946

Chinese Communist troops captured the city of Pingtu, in east Shantung, 54 miles north of Tsingtao, and Changyi, 25 miles northeast of Weihsien, on the Tsingtao-Tsinan railroad, according to AP.

The *Social Welfare*, Catholic daily in Peiping, said the Reds were conducting a heavy offensive again Yulin, 110 miles North of Yenan.

* * *

November 24, 1946

"Government troops are not advancing against Yenan. On the contrary, the Communists are fiercely attacking Yulin," 110 miles north of the Communist capital, a spokesman of the Generalissimo's Headquarters in Peiping asserted. This denial was issued after the communist spokesman in Nanking charged that the Government had already started its offensive against Yenan with local offensive activity.

* * *

November 25, 1946

As the Kuomintang small-scale attacks on the southern part of the Yenan Boarder region continued,—the alleged spearhead against Yenan—Communist troops recovered the Taning and Yungho county towns east of Yenan across the Yellow river, Yenan radio declared.

The radio likewise claimed that the Government attack on Yushtai, in the Szepingkai sector, was repulsed and 800 casualties inflicted.

In North Kiangsu, the radio said, one battalion of the 171st division was destroyed and the commander, vice-commander and more than 200 men taken prisoner. This action reportedly occurred north of Huaiyin. One B-24 was also shot down, the Reds claimed.

CLARA Protests Distribution

Tung Pi-wu, Director of the China Liberated Areas Relief Association, issued a statement early this week accusing UNRRA and CNRRA of discrimination, and saying that Communist-controlled territories received only 1.73 percent of all supplies sent by UNRRA to China, in spite of the fact that they harbored 26,000,000 of the 42,000,000 refugees of the anti-Japanese war. "It was evident," Tung charged, "that 130,000,000 war and calamity stricken people were discriminated against because they lived in the Liberated Areas."

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NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Subjective Storm

THE SUDDEN GUEST *by Christopher La Farge. Published by Coward-McCann, Inc., New York,* 1946. 250 *pp. Reviewed by Marion Barney.*

THE author's first prose novel, this is one of the few artistic achievements we have been privileged to read among the quantities of fiction currently appearing. To a slightly prejudiced eye one of its principal charms is the New England atmosphere which has been so skilfully created. It is also a good tale full of suspense. Its deeper value lies in the personality analysis of a supreme egoist and the delicate allegorical commentary on our times.

The protagonist is Miss Carrel Leckton, a New England spinster, austere and supremely self-centered. The antagonists are the hurricane of 1944 and, in flashbacks, its predecessor of 1938. In sharp contrast to the earlier storm when her house was peopled with unwelcome refugees Miss Leckton finds in the second storm complete isolation, loneliness and fear. It is apparent that her dignity and self-control depend upon an audience.

A woman, Miss Leckton is not given to self-questioning; her recollections reveal to the reader, as they do not to her, the unconscious cruelty and tyranny of the supreme egocentric. Her blind prejudices and erroneous conception of her own relationship to the universe provide a narrow protective shell shielding her from self-censure. And yet the powerful unanalyzed spiritual uneasiness which makes thought and recollection unbearable to her is tragic.

Miss Leckton is the epitome of all reactionaries; of that school of thought which regards all responsibility for more than its private possessions an imposition. Miss Leckton is isolationism, race prejudice, class consciousness; a bullying blind terrified anachronism. She is irritating, dangerous, and very pitiful.

"It was then that she heard the new noise.

"There was so much noise that it was hard to separate and place this addition to it. There was the erratic scream of the wind, the continuous pound of the surf on rocks, the rattle of the windows, the creaking of the shaken house. Now there was to be heard a remote pounding, not regular, and not loud. It had a metallic quality.

"Miss Leckton found herself shaking with fright; her hand (that held the lighted torch) was trembling visibly. Something had happened. Something had broken loose—and she didn't want to find out what it was, she didn't want to know; above all, she didn't want to go to discover it. She was alone, there was none to help her, she was surrounded by the dread of the loneliness that she had besought and purchased: she was afraid.

"Yet it was worse, after a moment, to stand here and do nothing, to hear the pounding come to her ears, stop, begin, stop again, than it would be to go out and explore its cause. One was caught perpetually, she thought, in this recurrent dilemma: one dreaded in inaction as much as one dreaded the action whose cause was beyond control; one feared to be alone, it had become an almost intolerable situation, and yet one feared as much the possible intrusion of others. Thinking this last, she saw that it was an empty thought, a shell of thinking, an attitude that no longer was valid and that she yet clung to precariously, as though to abandon it were to abandon herself to something as terrible as the storm itself and far more lasting."

Scientists' Forum

"ONE WORLD OR NONE" *edited by Dexter Masters and Katharine Way. Published by Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, New York,* 1946. 79 *pp.* US$1.00. *Reviewed by S. E. Shifrin.*

THERE is no defense against the atomic bomb. There must be either one world or there will be none. These are the opinions of some of America's most brilliant scientists presented in pamphlet form. Incidentally five of them are Nobel Prize winners, and this includes Albert Einstein.

Today's scientists have left behind them their traditional "non-interference" attitude. The most progressive among them are conscious of the inter-relation of things in the world they are living in. They feel that they are responsible for indirect results of their research — especially since it is the atomic bomb. They feel that laymen must know the truth lurking behind all the complex formulas and inane popularizations. They feel that there is no time to lose. This is the reason for their organizing the Federation of American (Atomic) Scientists.

Maybe the world's millions will succeed in crawling underground. Perhaps the atomic bomb will, after all, not be used in another world holocaust. But the authors feel it their duty to give us a glimpse of the worst—possibilities which only yesterday could have existed only in the nightmares of a diseased brain or the creative fantasy of a writer of scientific fiction. And what is more they seem to consider these possibilities probabilities as things stand to-day.

General H. H. Arnold, now retired, in a contributed chapter provides the incongruous by his calm calculation of the economics of destruction, and the relative cheapness of the atomic bomb in comparison with other explosives, all in terms of dollars and cents. If there is anything grotesque in this it is not the thinking of a military man, whose profession after all *is* preparation for and waging of war, but a society which makes such things possible. Another distinguished non-scientist contributor, Walter Lippmann, discusses the death of collective security and the international control of atomic energy through the medium of UN.

Even if the book exaggerates, and this is extremely unlikely considering the scientific reputation of its co-authors, this is certainly one way of shocking the public mind into recognition of the issues the world is facing today. If the potential power of millions of American voters could be transformed into control and guidance of everyday policies of the U.S. Government concerning the atomic bomb, this book may have had the result its authors desired to produce. As things are there is no harm at all in trying and the scientists *are* morally responsible for the atomic bomb. The more such books the better.

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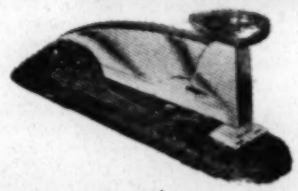

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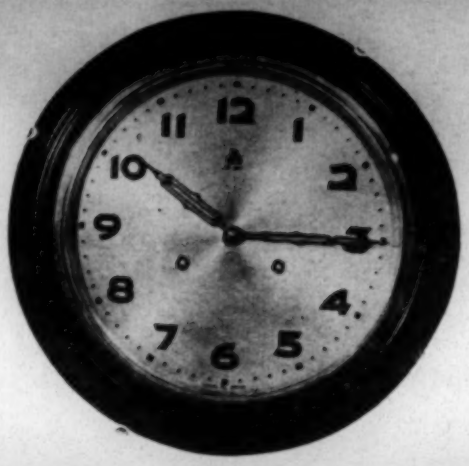

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